

CONVENT OF SAINT HELENA
R. D. 4, NEWBURGH, NEW YORK

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LECTURES ON RELIGION

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BY

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TO
THE WARDEN AND MEMBERS
OF
THE GUILD OF ST. JOHN BAPTIST
THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED.

PREFACE

THESE Lectures make no pretension of advancing new theories or of furnishing the student with treatises. Begun with the advice of one undergraduate, and corrected with the help of another, they are intended to give a few simple reasons for preferring historical Christianity to some modern academical traditions.

In describing the tenets of Greek or Roman Catholics, of orthodox or Unitarian Protestants, I have relied almost entirely upon the writings of accredited representatives of these schools of thought. Though I must not be so sanguine as to hope that I have always interpreted them correctly, I have the satisfaction of having invited them to speak for themselves in notes and quotations.

For much regarding the character and creed of early Christianity I am indebted to the works of the Abbé Duchesne; for some thoughts in Lecture XI., to the writings of Mr. Shorthouse. For valuable criticisms on Lectures I. and III. I am very grateful to Mr. Pogson Smith, of St. John's College; and for most generous help throughout to the Rev. F. E. Brightman.

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CHAPTER I.

CHRISTIAN AND PAGAN ETHICS.

And as a cliff looks down upon the bed
Of some clear stream, to see how richly crowned
With flowers and foliage is its lofty head ;
So, all from earth who hither e'er returned,
Seated on more than thousand thrones around,
Within the Eternal Light themselves discerned.
DANTE, *Paradiso*, 30 (Wright).

WHEN a Christian recognizes the achievements of non-Christian morality, he does not merely make what some might call an opportune concession, but he makes an acknowledgment of his adherence to the Gospel. For the Gospel speaks of the Light "which lighteth every man, coming into the world," and this Light had many tremulous and prophetic liftings before it blazed united in the day-spring from on high. It has been said that there are few sayings of Christ which are without a parallel elsewhere, and this statement is now used as an argument against Christianity, as it was used by hostile pagan critics when the infant Church was only learning how to articulate its faith. But Christianity has much to gain and nothing to lose

by these comparisons and parallels. Under the still convent roofs of central Asia, in the patient Indian schools, in the smallest European library which contains a book of Plato, there are thoughts which might well have been revealed at Nazareth. Granted, with all sincerity. But what before was intermittent, scattered, and incongruous, Christ combines, and the combination is not made in the volumes of a 'Thesaurus,' but in discourses by the wayside or on the hill, fresh, limpid, and direct. The result of those discourses was a type of character deep in its simplicity, and dependent on His own for every feature. This character was its own apology, so that we feel no surprise when an early Christian defender of the faith, pointing to it as beyond the reach of criticism, boldly says, "*Non eloquimur magna sed vivimus.*"

He knew that Christian conduct was in contrast with its background, and had been thrown into high relief. And this is made more remarkable by the fact that Christianity did not at first make many converts among the classes which are sensitive to the claims of originality. To the academic mind it made no eloquent appeal. The learned were attempting a reformation of their own, and they were meeting with enough success to hinder us from passing on pagan society a judgment based only on the evidence of satirists. For their reformation sometimes passed outside their study door, and taught hardihood and calm amid a maze of vice and folly. But their ideal, when it satisfied

the reason, failed to enlist the heart ; and, consequently, it could only fascinate a few. For "the heart has its convictions," which, if not infallible, yet deserve a hearing, and command the springs of action. Christianity encouraged these convictions by the attitude it maintained towards its Founder, and, in so doing, it brought philosophy from heaven to earth. The fisherman and the tent-maker repeated in the upper room what hitherto the student had suggested in the lecture hall ; and they repeated it with success. They fashioned characters as sure of the comfort of divine support as Marcus Aurelius ; as sure of the moral dignity of man as Epictetus. And if inquiry can guide us to believe that Christ has moulded man more truly to resemble the eternal perfectness, we need not regret that the ancient temples stand ruined on the headlands, and that the acanthus lays a wreath on the fragments of a Hermes or an Aphrodite.

The first of all the virtues to which Christ gave the finished form and the inward spirit is *self-sacrifice*. It is an activity which Greek society seldom elicited, and Greek morality could seldom inspire. The very clearness and grace of ancient literature show a lack of the sympathetic shadows which give effect to the best of modern poetry and prose. The city communities of Greece rested on the basis of a class of slaves whose needs and sorrows attracted hardly a thought from the free and fortunate. An ugly life of dull routine, a life

deliberately cramped that the life of the wretched might be more abundant, was not understood by the men who were kindled by the isolated flash of beauty in the heroism of Leonidas, and might, perhaps, have saluted the courage of Sidney handing the flask to a dying soldier with the words, "Thy necessity is yet greater than mine." To the Greek the blessed life was a correspondence with environment, a balanced answer to the claims of bright surroundings. It was a worship of the beautiful. It is very true that Greek brightness and beauty have been exaggerated. The art of the Greeks admitted a grotesque element which has been sometimes overlooked, and the music of their life contained a melancholy strain. They existed through an old age such as that described by Cephalus in the *Republic* of Plato: "At our meetings the tale of my acquaintance commonly is—I cannot eat, I cannot drink; the pleasures of youth and love are fled away: there was a good time once, but that is gone, and now life is no longer life." But the Greeks would not have found the grotesqueness of their comic drama so full of drollery and enjoyment, or quivered so deeply at the melancholy of life's decay, but for their keen delight in beauty. As a people, they strove to make life desirable and good by trusting to their perception of what was artistic.

Possibly, with an elect few, this perception became a wisdom sweetly ordering all things. There must have been some whom it trained to

seek a deeper consolation than it could itself bestow. But, even in the philosophers, it formed a character where lofty sensibilities are lowered, and some of the best efforts of human nature are misunderstood. And whenever the theory became popularized it was perpetually diverging into vice. Artistic tact and health of mind and body, such as Simonides had praised, could not constitute a guide to virtue or control the passions. The body was divorced from the spirit, and the comeliness which was pursued was missed. Now Christ "did not depreciate the body." He was tenderly careful of its welfare. He set His face against the cruder Oriental conceptions of a saint. He was present at a marriage, and provided means for its festivity. He gathered little children round Him. Among His friends He loved one best, enriching the Greek ideal of friendship, as He breathed life into the dying Roman reverence for maternity. His followers with glad alacrity rejoiced with them that rejoiced, and wept with them that wept. Happiness cannot be considered apart from sorrow, nor sympathy regarded apart from sacrifice, and each is to have its place in those "who seek the kingdom of God and His righteousness." Christ founded a new humanism, not less divine because it was so near to home and work-day life, exalting even manual labour to a position hitherto unguessed. He founded a school of deeper beauty. Two masterpieces were left for its future inspiration. The first was the Figure, chiselled deep with

pain and hunger, extended on the cross. The second was the portrait of the Good Shepherd, guiding serenely His flock into pastures unknown before, and, like the figure now treasured in the Lateran museum, smiling with youthful grace as He bears compassionately the lost and found upon His shoulders.

Though the following of such a Christ leads men over stony places, they have never followed without delight. The delight is more pervading, and not less ardent than the charm of that full-veined existence to which no voluptuous pleasure comes amiss. We justly count happy those who have been able to endure for Christ, and who by so enduring have enriched the fabric of society. The angelic glow upon the face of Stephen; the courage of the monk Telemachus, whose death by stoning ended the Roman gladiatorial murders; the contentment of an apostle to the lepers, or of Sisters of Mercy living for prisoners and sickly paupers, witness that those lack nothing whose Shepherd is the Lord.

For closely connected with self-sacrifice is *compassion*. Whatever Aristotle exactly meant when he spoke of tragedy effecting a purgation of pity and terror, it is plain that he regarded pity very superficially. He seems to conceive of pity as an amiable emotion, to be strictly limited and repressed. Seneca frowns upon pity with an iron face. He speaks of it as "an ailment of the mind due to the sight of others' woes, or a sadness caused

by others' evils when one believes the sufferers to be undeserving of them." The sage's mind must be serene, and therefore shut to compassion. This is the more worthy of remark, because the sage is to be beneficent. But beneficence, according to his view, is less for the sake of humanity than of the moralist who practises it. Long after the Stoics had influenced the thought of cultured Rome, the State, while forbidding human sacrifices in the provinces, permitted them in Italy. They were offered by Heliogabalus, and proposed by Aurelian. Porphyry, the Neo-Platonist critic of Christianity, admitted that in his time human blood was still poured on pagan altars in Arcadia and at Carthage. The Moslem slave-mistress in Zanzibar, who turns sick children into the streets to die, is not worse than some of the fine ladies in the days of Stoic chaplains.

The view of pity in Buddhism is far higher. Buddhism was the first philosophy which built hospitals. And it was pity for men, who "like lotus flowers now rise, and now are sinking below the surface of the water," that led Gotama to preach to all who had ears to hear. And yet Buddhism has been a religion of apathy rather than of pity. No one could call the Chinese humane. The people of Ceylon are strangely deficient in ordinary humanity and kindness. The discovery of the moral value of compassion, and of the method of compassion, belongs to Christianity. The Christian view of compassion implies willingness

to bear another's burden, that his body and spirit may receive new vigour. And outside Christianity there has never been anything parallel to the steady and repeated movements of compassion, which have become more decided as Christianity grows older. The Emperor Julian made an effort. When he tried to galvanize paganism, he paid to Christianity the tribute of imitating its compassion. He borrows almost the very language of the New Testament as he reiterates his exhortations to charity, and maintains that it is "a sacred duty to impart raiment and food even to our enemies." All that was best in the teaching of the Stoics, he emphasized. He tried to christianize Hellenism. He wished to see it grave, and chaste, and pitiful. And Hellenism declined, and smiled at his fanaticism. It was morally heartless and intellectually indifferent, and danced to the edge of the precipice. The Galilean was to conquer.

After compassion we may consider *forgiveness*. To a modern student, the account of forgiveness in Aristotle seems so meagre as to be little better than mockery. We are not at all justified in saying that he would have rejected the Christian idea of forgiveness, or in saying that his teaching about forgiveness is incompatible with Christianity. Nevertheless, Aristotle's attention is not for a moment arrested by the moral worth of forgiveness; he only notices its weak and undeveloped forms. He regards the tendency to forgive as the

characteristic of a "mild" man. He introduces it, not as a virtue, but as a mark of deficiency of character. Buddhism, on the other hand, extols indifference to injuries received, because it dignifies and canonizes a thorough deficiency of character. The beautiful *Dhammapada* finds its ideal, not in the man who bears all things, because he hopes all things, but in the man who is "tolerant like the earth," and "like a lake without mud." Right conduct is here identified with apathy. And yet Buddhism drifts into something deeper and purer than apathy whenever it exalts the quality of pity, and a recognition of this quality had no mean effect in the development of Buddhist theology. A similar variation is to be seen in Greek and Roman thought. The ordinary theory of conduct was rebuked in the precept of Isocrates—misquoted by Gibbon,—that we are not to inflict on others anything that excites our indignation when we suffer it ourselves. Such a precept would act as a condemnation of even a moderate revenge.

And, indeed, to take a fair equivalent for an injury, and to make a moderate reprisal, is what current unthinking morality generally sanctions. It looks like justice, and it is superior to the vindictiveness of Cicero or Sulla. The graceful and playful sarcasm with which Socrates shows that justice could not possibly include the infliction of an injury on an enemy, any more than on a friend, forms one of the best sermons in Plato's *Republic*. Nevertheless, the subject is not

sufficiently pursued to give us more than a negative view of forgiveness. We are simply shown the folly of returning evil for evil. And, turning to a very different writer, we find in Juvenal how thoroughly a practical and enlightened mind could accept this teaching of one whom he calls "sweet as the honey of his own Hymettus." Juvenal denounces revenge, and is contented with the fact that a man cannot escape the court of his own conscience. At the same time, he appears neither to desire nor to believe in the conversion of a sinner. And at this point Christian forgiveness reaches highest. It is not merely moderated revenge or abstinence from evil. The Christian is never to be irreconcilable, and he is always to be actively benevolent. He is to make every appeal to any offender's highest feelings. There is to be entire kindness in word, and act, and prayer. He is not necessarily to ignore the fault committed. If the offender be a Christian, his repentance is to be stimulated by telling him of his fault; and if this fail, by an appeal to the Church. The end is to "gain thy brother," to change and improve his character. Righteousness must include helping an enemy to do right. If every appeal be useless, the offender is not to be punished except by the further rebuke of exclusion from the Church. If quite determined to violate the laws of the society to which he has undertaken to be faithful, he is to be treated "as the Gentile and the publican." This does not mean that he is to be persecuted,

and nothing but the deplorable treatment of some who refused to "hear the Church" in later times, could make us put such an interpretation on the text. Christ persecuted neither Gentile nor publican. He visited Zacchæus, chief among the publicans, and openly proclaimed that the Gentiles were to receive the privileges of the Jews. Christ wishes each man to be treated as a brother, and this because the Father in heaven is generous both to the just and the unjust. To become His sons it is necessary to love our enemies. God is perpetually forgiving; but, for all that, His forgiveness is no relaxation of the sternest moral laws, and it is a declaration, not of His weakness, but of His almighty power. And, in the same way, the readiness to forgive, which Christ declares so essential an element in the Christian character, combines a genuine abhorrence of sin with an anxiety for the offender's moral education. This education will ordinarily begin by an appeal to his affections. To make such an appeal under such circumstances, marks a far greater force of character than the force displayed in binding a vanquished enemy to a triumphal car.

Very near to forgiveness is the Christian spirit of *humility*. Both are intimately connected with a sense of man's responsibility and God's perfection. It is worthy of notice that the first Christians showed some hesitation in using the word "virtue." It was not only because they were conscious that the salvation of the will and

of the desires must precede good works, and the tree be made good before the fruit is secured from corruption. The nearness of God to man in the Incarnation and the sacraments, and the unequalled example of human holiness seen in the life of Christ, compelled them to be conscious of their imperfections. And it is evident that a humility which was provoked by such a creed could not degrade, but was calculated to aid men's moral progress. Moreover, the consciousness of imperfection was united with a sense of peaceful gratitude to God for reconciling man to Himself through Christ. Hence arose that humility, at once strong and joyful, which gave the Christian character something of exquisite fitness and imperishable grace. It is a grace of which ancient ethics had no conception. Aristotle's thoughts dwelt naturally on the justice of a man claiming exactly his due; and when he thought of any humility, the word seemed only to suggest a certain pettiness of mind and slothfulness in action. Such incapacity is removed from the humility of the New Testament as far as the east is from the west. Totally different is the humility of St. Paul, who feared that he might be a castaway, and yet was ready to face the fastidious philosophers of Athens. Different, too, is the humility of St. Ambrose, whose character was not so exquisite as to prevent his administering discipline and rebuke to the Emperor Theodosius for the massacre of the Thessalonians. Different, again, from the weakness

described by Aristotle is the humility of Lacordaire, who, when his fame was greatest and when thousands listened to his keen and masculine sermons, wept, frightened at his own success.

The Greek had too much good taste to like self-assertion. If it became insolent and ostentatious, he thought it brought bad luck and retribution. But he was not humble ; nor can we blame him, for humility would have seemed to him a self-neutralization. With the Roman the case was as bad or worse. No classical Latin word expresses the Christian idea of humility, just as no word exists to express charity. Seneca says that no man in his senses fears the gods, and he congratulates Epicurus on having robbed God of His weapons. His sage is nothing if not self-sufficient. He is the comrade of the gods, and not their suppliant. Seneca is proud of his moral efforts, independently of their success. And when he confesses his failures, he is proud of his ingenuity in detecting them. He enjoys them, as Democritus enjoyed the frailties of others.

If we turn to India, the facts are changed. Humility exists, but it is generally rancid. The Hindu servant is willing to call his master "almighty" or "the protector of the poor," but he balances the flattery of his words by the impudence of his actions. Even the humility of Buddhism tends to be unmanly and unwholesome. It is an iridescence, but it lies upon a stagnant pool. We gladly admit that the Buddhist

scriptures contain warnings against pride which are true and probing. But humility is not, with Buddhists, connected with the development of life, but rather with disgust of life. The monk is encouraged to meditate on everything repulsive connected with the body, in order to awaken this disgust. There are passages which may fitly be left unquoted, but the following is typical: "A man should do his best, when a good point of meditation has occurred to him, to keep it before his mind—such as the idea of a skeleton, a corpse eaten by worms, a corpse turning blue, festering, splitting up, blown out with decay." In Ceylon, where Buddhism professes to be purest, every novice has to insult his humanity by one of these meditations when he is admitted into the sacred monastic order. And though a mock and self-conscious humility has sometimes disfigured the character of Christians, Christianity is the one religion where humility is practical and dignified.

Again, Christ was the Inspirer of *purity*. "In the matter of chastity," said Mr. Green, "there is a serious inferiority of the highest Greek ideal to the highest ideal of Christendom." Why has the ideal changed? Because, according to that great moralist, the conditions of the age and the structure of society have demanded the change. But that is not enough. And elsewhere the same writer gives us the real answer. He shows that every form of real goodness must rest on a will to be good, and must speak the language of religious

aspiration—"Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God,"—and be contemplated in a personal human life. We may contemplate it in Jesus. It must be admitted that the Greeks mixed exquisite refinement with the grossest coarseness. To explain away the fact by maintaining that Greek morality was more manly than Christian morality, and that the growth of modesty has been the growth of hypocrisy, is audacious, but not true. Nor was indecency peculiarly localized in the Athenian comedy, which was a mouthpiece of vulgar passions. The greatest of the Greeks is sympathetic towards crimes which Christians are ashamed to name, and Cicero evidently thinks immorality less reprehensible than dancing. In Athens, sin had not only a passport into the theatre because it was amusing; it pervaded all life because it was consecrated. Rome embraced the same passions, while marriage was avoided, and divorce treated with levity.

We may make some allowance for modern apologists of Greek morality. There are souls which are naturally pagan and delicately indelicate. But the defenders of pagan failings should make themselves acquainted with what they have undertaken to defend. We are compelled to ask what is the extent of their philosophical and historical reading, and whether they are aware how powerless even the limited morality of the philosophers actually proved. Are they aware of the performances given by women at

Antioch, of the rites of Cybele at Constantinople, of the orgies at Alexandria, and of the market of unnatural vice in the streets of Rome? When paganism was fighting for its life against Christianity, the public festivals were of a character unfit to be described to modern ears. Pagan writers corroborate the charge. And though the Christian may be downcast at the knowledge of present evils, he has the satisfaction of knowing that Christianity has immensely raised the generally accepted standard. Buddhism has failed, in spite of its high teaching. It placed human nature and affection under a ban, and offered no spiritual interpretation of outward relationships. Islam has failed, for it covered what it could not remove. Muhammad's own life, and the system of slave concubinage which he sanctioned, leave us no room for wonder at the failure. It is said that the Arabs speak much of love, but give it the most degraded interpretation. The Moslem theologians transfer to Paradise the scenes which had once been enacted in the cities of the Roman Empire.

It is not civilization which has made the change among ourselves. It was in the midst of a civilization quick with each pulsation of delight that Athanasius flung down his challenge, asking his opponents to behold the proof of the success of Christ "in the virgins of Christ, and in the young men who show a consecrated self-control." The civilization of the Hindus vanishes in the mist of years, but there was no movement to improve their

marriage customs until Christian morality attracted their attention. And though there is now some token of a change with regard to marriage, the state of Hindu society is thus depicted in an Indian paper of 1893: "English society has many faults, but in one respect, at least, it is superior to us; namely, in the public opinion it directs against men, however exalted, who are proved to be guilty of immorality. In our society, any *man* can do anything immoral with impunity." And the article continues to say that "the movement of Hindu revival also, admirable in several respects, concerns itself with the superficialities of life—with eating, with ceremonies, with mere shows,—and not with the substance of moral reform, the character of individual men and women." These words deserve the attention of Europeans who ignore their debt to Christianity. They remind us that civilization, by itself, is an inadequate protection against an evil which can consume the heart of society, and which never can be quenched but by a rival and more potent fire, the love of the known ideal. There are still men who regard impurity as mere excess of love, or defend it as the pursuit of one image of the heart across a series of material faces. But observers of human nature are aware that it destroys all that makes love either valued or attainable.

The difficulty of being "temperate in all things," and the severity of self-discipline which must be exercised by those who pass by upon the other

side whenever they are tempted to desert the standard of Christian manhood, lead us naturally to the Christian conception of *suffering*.

The real place of pain in the development of human character has met with little adequate consideration outside the sphere of Christianity. With half-educated consciences there was an instinctive tendency to regard suffering as mere revenge inflicted by an angry Heaven. Sometimes the root conception of this revenge is mysterious in its pettiness. Prometheus, the protector of mankind, the pioneer of civilization, has to expiate his generous fault with cruel sufferings until his rescue, when he has to place upon his finger the ring of submission. Sometimes suffering, because it is suffering, is regarded as acceptable to God. The tortures borne by the Indian devotees, or by Christian ascetics, when asceticism had adapted a pagan form in reaction from pagan license, appear to illustrate this principle. Far higher and more Christian is the suffering which is true discipline. Such is the suffering of Œdipus. He has been reckless and self-reliant. He is plunged into homeless misery. Purged and repentant, he dies in rest, and is welcomed to the company of the gods. His story shows a master's insight into suffering, but it was an insight to which the forces of Greek life were hostile. Joy is not its own security, and a character, like a statue, needs many blows to shape it to perfection.

Now Christianity forcibly declared that suffering

was a discipline of character. It disclosed what Æschylus divined when he quoted the proverbial saying that to suffer is to learn. Living under present conditions, it is impossible for us to conceive of spiritual sympathy, and power, and sacrifice being developed apart from the great moral law that we must suffer. Sufferings help man to be "made perfect." They are consequently a prerogative of the sons of God. To wish to avoid suffering is to assume the position of a bastard. Avoidance assumes that there is no vital connection between man's highest good and the God who guides the world. Buddhism, which frankly confronted the problem of suffering, made an assumption of this sort its deliberate foundation. According to Gotama, man's highest good is to cut himself away from the stream of existence. And the motive for doing this is derived from the fact that all existence involves suffering. Birth, and old age, and sickness, union with the unloved, and separation from the loved—everything, in fact, which makes man turn his thought upon himself—brings pain. The only cure is to extinguish the desire to live, and so to reach "the other shore," to attain the Nirvâna which is outside the categories of all that men call existence. The question has been raised whether this system is a system of pessimism. The answer is, that it was not consciously so. Those who beheld the goal of Nirvâna within view could say, "In perfect joy we live, without toil among toilers." But in essence

Buddhism is pessimism. It regards the world as a funeral procession, and is only justifying itself when it accuses those who live in the world of being "the fools of time and terror." There are many "tender things of time" which link themselves with what is timeless; and Buddhism, with a happy inconsistency, recognized this when it extolled those virtues which are trained only by intercourse with others. They are not congruous with the refined selfishness which avoids duty because it implies pain. In this selfishness the pessimists and the optimists unite. Both have no patience with anything that ruffles the placid surface of their temper. Under that surface optimism fondles its contentment, and pessimism nurses its grievances. Christianity is more sensitive to moral disorder than optimism, more confident of the future than pessimism, more vigorous than either. The New Testament throughout implies that if we do not struggle we are not moral, neither can be. Characters which draw a curtain between themselves and suffering are, at best, insipid. Men in whom the image of God has been detected have been men of suffering. Suffering produces a subdued confidence in the eternal justice. It gives both an insight into the nature of God, and a readier admission to His influence. It leads to a resignation which is not dejection, and a hopefulness which is not complacency. It is a "chastening."

This moderation and this common sense of the

Christian view of suffering, a moderation elsewhere unwonted or unknown, illuminates the relation between culture and the self-sacrifice described above. The early Christians gave the name of "athlete" to the masters of the spiritual life. The name was just. The athlete knows that his training demands a watchfulness even over legitimate enjoyments. His conduct, if inconsistent with his surroundings, is consistent in relation to the end that is set before him. In the same way, the Christian athlete seems to do violence to life's harmony. He sacrifices one part of human nature to another. But it is that life may emerge harmonious and more abundant in the surviving region. Even if the right hand has to be cut off, or the right eye plucked out, it is good. For it is better to be morally well-balanced than to be the most beautiful of animals.

The nearest pagan approach to the developed Christian character was probably realized among the early Buddhists. It is true that, by their neglect of religion, they allowed their system to become covered with a rapid outgrowth of extravagant spiritualism and tenacious superstition. They leaned too much upon the arms of potentates and kings. They carried into all lands the enervating atmosphere of a country where night seems better than the day. And yet the Buddhist stories have important points of contact with the *Little Flowers of St. Francis*. The spacious sunlit calm, the beneficent desires, the tolerant

earnestness, the inward searchings of heart, and the open confession of sins which arose in Assisi, were known in Magadha. They will always mark the temper of men who leave the world better than they find it. But henceforth, if they are to live, they must live imprinted with the stigmata of Jesus Christ. Buddhism has displaced them by spells and talismans, by grinning idols and ponderous prayer-wheels.

The Greek ideal wears its most Christian lustre in the books of Plato. The citizenship of the Athenians in no mean city, their honoured bonds of kindred and abiding friendship, fostered that courage and wisdom and alertness for the public good which command both admiration and success. They were also an aid to self-restraint, and, if we gather into one the greater sayings of Plato concerning self-restraint, we see that they form the outline of a character in which nothing passionate or jarring could be included. The self-restraint of which he speaks is revealed by tranquillity and knowledge of one's self, by natural modesty, and the performance of deeds good and dutiful. Nevertheless, the *Charmides* and the *Republic* are disfigured by sentiments which prove that Christian morality has not only embraced a far wider area of moral obligation, but has penetrated far deeper into the individual. The Christian feels misgivings where Aristotle, and even Plato, would have been content. His morality, like that of the true Buddhist, is more self-conscious than that of the Greeks. It is

not worth while for the new paganism to try to turn this self-consciousness into a reproach. Rather is it a glory, for the Christian self-consciousness has only grown in the souls of men with an enlarged knowledge of God's high righteousness and unexpected love.

The fact of this deeper self-consciousness and broader knowledge suggests one conclusion. At the period of the Renaissance, and again in our own time, there have been attempts to revive the spirit of Greek ethics. But the spirit is dead beyond recall, and the revival has seldom been anything more than a make-believe.

The history of the Italian Renaissance is widely marred by the character of the virtuoso, political, ecclesiastical, and artistic. It is the character of men filled with calm indifference, prepared to enjoy their lust and pride. Treating life as a painter treats his canvas, they introduced enough of prudence and honour to tone down the fervid colours. They could feel some æsthetic sympathy for sorrows not their own, some appreciation of the moral systems from whose exactions they retired, some fondness for the afterglow of a departed faith. And as we think upon the racked and outraged country through which this serenely sinful pageant moved, we reckon that it was better to worship the Greek god of healing and the lyre, than to build the Malatesta temple, where the body of Christ is lifted amid the sculptured emblems of a harlot.

This deliberate union of Christianity with paganism repels us as simple paganism can never do. It was not Greek. It repudiated all necessary connection between artistic and moral idealism. A Perugino and a Fra Filippo Lippi knew that unspeakable beauty breathed in the story of the Redemption. Behind them stretched a moral and religious past of many generations. Around them they had a culture richer than the culture of the days of Aristophanes and Pheidias. And in consequence of this culture, they could divide their own souls. They could differentiate themselves, and separate the various faculties which the Greek combined in one united life. They had grown self-conscious.

It is the same to-day. The Greeklings have belied Greece by teaching that art is better than morality. And they have belied their own principles; for they have preached "art for art's sake," and have practised art with an ulterior purpose. And those who do these things betray the fact that they are as self-conscious as the ascetic whom they denounce. The world has gained a new ideal, and has for ever lost the secret of that perennial boyhood which gave the Greek character its appearance of fresh and unembarrassed action, and which now gives it due protection from censorious judgments. To pretend that we can regain the secret, is as criminal as it is silly. To be naked and not ashamed was not always a disgrace. But it is eternally disgraceful to be ashamed and naked, and to expose the nakedness while we disguise the shame.

CHAPTER II.

IS CHRISTIANITY ORIGINAL?

How helpful could we quote
But one poor instance when He interposed
Promptly and surely and beyond mistake.

BROWNING, *Parleyings with Certain People*.

I.

TIMES are changed since Melanchthon believed Muhammad to be either Gog or Magog. They are changed since Picart wrote his superb work on "Religious Ceremonies,"¹ in which he had the acumen to identify the "Buddu" of Ceylon with the Chinese Fo, but summed up the teaching of Fo as "idolatry." And though the change is healthy, our modern interest in the history of religions has not been without some follies. Often the mosque and the pagoda are patronized in the temper of the womanish æsthete who values a religion only as a fragrant illusion. Sometimes the cause of scientific research is injured by a dainty poem which gives a Christian colour to an Oriental

¹ The six volumes of the English edition were published between the years 1731 and 1738.

faith. Sometimes the religious environment of the early Church is ransacked in the hope that, if the relations of Christianity to this environment be explained, Christianity will be explained away. It obviously would not be explained away, even if the teaching of Christianity were shown to be composite and eclectic. For supposing that Christianity grew "naturally" out of previous creeds, we could only reject it as non-divine on the theory that God is not the Cause of nature. It might still remain the best religion with the best claim upon our moral submission. Christ would not be reduced to a dilettante; He would still be the consummator of all creeds.

Nevertheless, the charge that Christianity is a borrowed and composite faith demands investigation. For its opponents say that Christianity has been inconsistent in its eclecticism, and that Christ Himself, as He is presented to us in the Gospels, is a figure out of drawing. Now, what is really inconsistent is untrue, and what is untrue is ready to vanish away.

The first alleged source of inconsistency is the asserted mixture of Buddhism in the story of Jesus. The resemblances in the stories of Jesus and the Buddha are of two classes: they are found either in the history of their lives, or in the character of their teaching. With regard to resemblances of the first class, we may confidently say that the authentic Gospels present the fewest possible coincidences with the most authentic

Buddhist Scriptures, for they are only two in number. The birth of the Buddha is made known by rejoicing deities to the sage Asita, who comes like a modern Sinhalese astrologer to visit the child, and predicts that he will be a Buddha. In due time the great founder of Buddhism, before entering upon his mission, undergoes, beneath the Bodhi tree, a series of temptations, which, in the oldest narrative, are rather intellectual than moral. Those who consider that the one story is the original of Simeon's prophecy, and the other the original of the temptation in the wilderness, can hardly expect to make many converts. These are the sole coincidences between the earlier life of the Buddha and the earlier life of Christ. At a later time, we find Gotama had a Judas among his disciples, and a somewhat stupid beloved disciple; but this is hardly sufficient warrant for throwing doubt upon the betrayal or the friendship of Jesus. It is true that, if we turn to the apocryphal gospels, and to the legends of corrupted Buddhism, such as those contained in the *Lalitavistara*, we discover a few more corresponding features, generally of the most trivial character. For instance, a tree bends over Mary, as over Mâyâ, when her child is born into the world, and idols bow down at the coming of their destroyer. Even here, though the apocryphal Christian stories are of the same quality as the Buddhist, an imitation is very doubtful. The *Lalitavistara* was written in Nepâl, in the Sanskrit language, some centuries after the

Buddha's death, and although it has been assigned to the first century before Christ, the evidence for this date is not conclusive.

More important for our subject is the fact that, in the later Buddhist books, the Buddha is born without the intervention of a human father. Now, we should use the utmost caution in describing any sacred story as a nature myth, but this late story of the Buddha's birth suspiciously resembles such a myth. The celestial elephant of the Buddhist zodiac (Capricorn) sinks at the time when the celestial Buddha sank down like an elephant of snow and silver, "outshining the sun and moon," into the mortal frame of Mâyâ. If the earliest followers of Jesus were acquainted with such a myth, they were miraculously adroit in adapting the bedizened Indian story to the simple and very Jewish narrative which forms an introduction to two Christian Gospels. We may add that they were miraculously successful in defying human testimony. Mâyâ, according to Buddhism, died seven days after the nativity of her great son, but the mother of Jesus was contemporary with at least four of the writers who believed that her child was not the child of Joseph. St. Matthew and St. Luke are not alone in believing that Mary remained a virgin in giving birth to Jesus. St. John in the Apocalypse gives a mystical account of the infancy which St. Matthew describes; and from Polycarp, the pupil of St. John, we learn that he vigorously opposed the heretic Cerinthus, who denied Christ's

miraculous birth. And the whole argument of St. Paul about "the second Adam" would collapse if he did not believe what his friend St. Luke records.

The resemblances in the teaching of the Christ and the Buddha confirm our faith in their independence. Gotama and Jesus alike made goodness depend upon an inward character. A heartless repetition of outward ceremonies was to both of them a blinding of the blind. Much as they differed in their teaching about futurity, they both taught that the moral result of a man's life survives his life. Both taught that the blessed existence which has been cut off from the things that see corruption may be entered now and here. Both declined to preach a crusade against the actual form of society, and yet both offered a system where birth distinctions were bound to disappear. But there is nothing decisive in these parallels. They occur with different tints of local colour in all the best doctrines of the world. They are rays of that Light which lighteth every man. They prove no more than the resemblance between the ethics of St. Paul and of Seneca, a resemblance which does not exclude a fundamental difference. And when we remember that both Christ and Gotama strove to remove a formalism which had encrusted righteousness, we might almost expect to find a greater likeness in their parables and commandments than in fact exists.

The isolation of Christ's system overthrows the

theory that the Christ of the Gospels is not one, but two Christs. It is sometimes said that we find one Christ who is a "winebibber," another who is ascetic; one a pious Jew, the other a mystic, an Essene, a half-Buddhist. Now the origin of Essene asceticism is uncertain. Possibly it is partly Pythagorean, and possibly it is wholly indigenous to Judaism. The latter alternative is rendered reasonable by the high probability that the treatise of Philo which describes a similar sect among the Egyptian Jews is a genuine production of that remarkable Jewish philosopher. But there are three facts which can guide us to a decision about the supposed influence of Buddhism on early Christianity. The first fact is that the character of Jesus is not incongruous, but harmonious. It is a spiritual reconciliation of austerity and considerate affection. We cannot divide Christ, or divide the evidence for his character. The second fact is that this supposed influence was apparently unknown. St. Jerome mentions the tradition of Buddha's virgin birth, and Clement of Alexandria speaks of "Boutta" being honoured by the Indians as a god; but neither here nor elsewhere is there any tradition of Christ coming under Buddhist influence. The third fact is the attitude of the Church towards a theosophy in which Christianity was deliberately compounded with Buddhism and other faiths of the Eastern world. This theosophy was the work of Manes in the third century. Both the inaccurate

Western accounts of his system and the clearer history which exists in Arabic prove that Manichæism was partly Buddhist. And the opposition between Manichæism and Christianity was vital and unquestioned. The one put material life under a ban, the other blessed it with the sign of the cross. The one was an aristocracy of reasoning, the other was a republic of faith. Early Christianity caught a real though distant sight of Buddhism, and was drawn neither to admiration nor to pursuit.

The only real influence of Buddhism on orthodox Christianity is probably confined to a single legend. This is the legend of Barlaam, a reputed monk of India, who converted a prince named Josaphat. It achieved enormous popularity in the Middle Ages, and has been translated into almost every language in Europe, including Roumanian, Irish, and Icelandic. There were various English versions of the story, the latest form occurring in a chapbook of 1783. It furnished Shakespeare with the story of the three caskets in the *Merchant of Venice*, and Barlaam was universally believed to be a Christian saint. In 1889 I bought a Church Kalendar printed at Einsiedeln in Switzerland, and in it "St. Barlaam" finds a place. The success of the story in Christian countries was largely due to the fact that it was believed to be the work of St. John of Damascus, the famous Greek theologian of the eighth century. The probabilities are that the Greek is from a Syriac

original, and a comparison of the proper names in the Greek story with those in the Arabic and Georgian versions make it almost certain that the original of them all was in the Pehlevi of Persia. Whatever history lies behind this ancient Persian legend, it is of small importance. For Josaphat is in one Arabic version called Bûdâsaph, and Bûdâsaph is simply Bodhisattva, "a man destined to attain Buddhahood."¹

The general impression left upon the mind which studies the influence of Buddhism on orthodox Christianity is that this influence was infinitesimal, and the matter may be treated with brevity, because in this case brevity is the soul of truth. On the other hand, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that Buddhism in Tibet has been influenced by Christianity. The dominant form of Buddhism in that country is due to the great reformer, Tson K'a-pa, who flourished in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. This ultra-montane Buddhism has several features totally foreign to original Buddhism, and akin to the mediæval Catholic system. We must not lay much stress singly on the facts that the Tibetan monk has become a sacrificing priest, that the established church is under an infallible teacher, that there is incense and holy water and bells, or even that Tārā, the "Goddess of Mercy," is venerated with a rosary, and that her manual "is in the hands of nearly all laymen, most of whom

¹ Mr. Joseph Jacobs' *Barlaam and Josaphat* (David Nutt, 1896).

can repeat her hymn and chief service by heart." They may be largely due to tendencies which are as capable of realizing themselves in Asia as in Europe ; but such facts, when taken in the aggregate, certainly suggest that the author of modern Lamaism may have seen the value of the magnificent and organized ritual of contemporary Christianity. And this seems to pass into something more than a conjecture when we find that in every Tibetan village, at least once a year, there is celebrated a service for the express purpose of feeding the worshippers with consecrated pills of flour and with beer called "the wine of life," the service being accompanied with the sprinkling of holy water and many elaborate ceremonies.¹ The historical difficulties in the way of a possible connection with Christianity are much lessened by the knowledge that in the thirteenth century the Armenians, whose worship is the most magnificent in Christendom, had a fine church in the capital of the Mongols, and that in the fourteenth century there were Roman Catholic missionaries in China, within the present borders of which country Tson-K'a-pa himself was born. This hypothesis is certainly more probable than the hypothesis that there were Buddhists in the cities of the early Roman Empire, a theory sufficiently refuted by the late Bishop Lightfoot in his essay on the Essenes.

We may now pass on to consider the supposed

¹ Major Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet*, p. 444.

influence of Brahmanism upon Christianity. The difficulty of interpreting Brahmanism is considerable, though not so great as the modern Hindu is rather prone to suggest. The materials are many and confused, and the peoples of India have generally been tolerant towards any theories which do not conflict with their social customs. The student of the University of Calcutta will leave the examination room, where he has probably written down pages of Mr. Herbert Spencer's philosophy, to prostrate himself before Kâlî with her necklace of skulls and protruding tongue. And in discussions on religion the difficulties are increased. Within the last few years some Hindus have been unconsciously influenced by Christian Theism, and give to their scriptures a more theistic interpretation than they will bear. Others consciously clothe their old creed in a Western dress, and, like the last champions of Hellenism, they are trying to disguise from Christians the fatal truth that they are masking one religion with another. Nevertheless, it is possible to arrive at the general meaning and history of Indian religion, and to decide whether it be at all probable that Indian trinities and incarnations have been carried into the religion of Jesus.

The only incarnation important for our purpose is the incarnation of Vishnu in the form of Krishna. It should be first remarked that, even in the form of the story which presents the nearest analogy to Christianity, the incarnation of Krishna

is not a real incarnation. This would be a contradiction of Indian philosophic principles. The humanity of Krishna is only an illusion, one of the forms which the one divine substance assumes, like an actor playing various parts, or the one sun reflected in many mirrors. In the developed Indian story, such as that given in the *Gîttagovinda* composed in the twelfth century after Christ, the incarnate Krishna, faithless to his true love, returns to her after discovering the vanity of a licentious life, and obtains her forgiveness. Concerning this famous poem, M. Barth, one of the best authorities on Indian religion, has said, "We do not know which is the more astounding, the lewdness of imagination, or the devout frenzy." The orthodox and dogmatic exposition of the nature of Krishna is to be found in the *Bhagavad Gîtâ* or "Song of the Most High," a poem interpolated in the great epic called the *Mahâbhârata*. In this poem Krishna is the sole and absolute Being who himself reveals the mystery of his nature, and teaches that those who are conscious of being one with him attain to perfect peace. On the other hand, there are parts of the *Mahâbhârata* in which Krishna is an Oriental Ulysses, apparently nothing more than a cunning and successful hero. And in the *Veda* the idea of an incarnate Krishna is absolutely unknown. He is nothing more than the disciple of a sage. From this fact certain writers have drawn the conclusion that Krishna is simply a gradually deified man. But such a conclusion

cannot be accepted with entire confidence. There is evidence to show that Krishna was a popular god as early as the second century before Christ. The most probable explanation is, that long before the Christian era he was worshipped as a divine hero and was absorbing numerous myths relating to other deities. Meanwhile the learned, who displayed great caution in introducing Krishna into their sacred writings, never thought of giving supreme rank to Vishnu. After a time the Brahmans adopted the vulgar preference for Vishnu as a supreme god, and taught that Krishna was one of his manifestations. Everything goes to prove that such a step would appeal to the popular mind, and it is reasonable to suppose that the step was taken when it was most necessary — during the Brahmanical reaction against Buddhism subsequent to the Christian era. It is possible to find similarities between the story of Christ and that of Krishna, especially in connection with the Infancy and the Transfiguration, but it is quite as possible to derive the Krishna legend from Christianity as Christianity from Krishna ; and, indeed, the attempt has been made with considerable appearance of probability. But those who derive the Christian Incarnation from India, must first show there is a real likelihood that Krishna was regarded as an incarnation of Vishnu before the Christian era. This done, they will still be confronted with a very thorny dilemma. If the story of Krishna passed into Palestine or to Alexandria only in popular

mythology, how is it that the character of Christ is in such consistent opposition with the Indian deity ? And if the idea of an incarnation was an exotic transplanted to the West by learned travellers, how is it that the philosophy which enshrined Krishna is wholly absent from the Christian Fathers who taught the Incarnation ?

Still less plausible is the supposed discovery of the doctrine of the Trinity in India. The practice of associating gods in groups of three is very ancient in that country. It survives in the most fanciful and recent forms of Chinese Buddhism, where combinations of Buddhas, or of abstract religious conceptions, are made in such variety as to baffle all but the most patient students. But the mere fact that these groupings are so commonplace illustrates the small significance of the trinity in Indian religion or its offshoots. According to the most orthodox Hindu interpretation, Brahma the Absolute manifests himself in three persons—Brahmâ, the creator ; Vishnu, the preserver ; and Çiva, the destroyer. The resemblance of this doctrine to the doctrine of the Christian Trinity is in any case obscure, but its value is diminished when we learn that the oldest sculptures in which this triad is represented are probably of the eighth century of our era, and that Brahmâ is sometimes entirely omitted from the combination, while the sect which adores Vishnu is distinct from the sect which adores Çiva. Some of the modern apologists of Indian

religion say that only the ignorant are guilty of polytheism and that the learned deplore it as a cancer-spot; others say that the deity has manifested himself in different forms and may be worshipped in them all. In any case, this popular trinity is not of the first importance; for the Hindus worship Râma, Kâlî, Ganeça with equal assiduity. But there is another philosophic Indian trinity furnished by the Vedânta system, which is undoubtedly the orthodox explanation of Brahmanism. According to this system, the material world has no real existence; it is an illusion created in sport by the supreme Lord, who cannot be supposed capable of a serious motive in creating, because such a motive would limit his self-sufficiency. The supreme Lord, or soul of the universe, is not real, but only a fact of present unreal experience, like an imagined snake in a rope. He is the product of a conjunction between Mâyâ, or illusory power, and the Brahma; or he may be called the Brahma hidden by ignorance. The Brahma is the ultimate Being, unknowable, and without attributes or action. With the Brahma the soul of the wise is completely identical. This is orthodox Brahmanism; but in South India there exists a sect of Vishnu-worshippers which is vigorous and well organized, and which denounces this monism as hostile to religion. It is dualist or "Dvaitic," and makes a somewhat fanciful attempt to interpret the sacred books on Dvaitic principles. This latter sect approaches nearer to Christianity

with regard both to God and to the soul, attributing to both a distinct reality. But it did not exist till the twelfth century, A.D. ; and that it should have had any influence on Christian dogma is as impossible as any connection between the orthodox Vedânta trinity and any known explanation of the Christian creed.

II.

It is of at least equal importance to speak of the relation of Christianity to the forms of religion current within the limits of the Roman Empire. The frigid worship of ancient Rome—an established worship by which the upper classes profited, while they openly scoffed at it—had few attractions for the majority. It was not sufficiently sensational for men and women trained to appreciate every kind of magnificence and spectacle. It was not sufficiently mysterious for men and women who took an interest in dissecting their own reflections. It did not offer the expiatory rites which give an anæsthetic to the troubled conscience, nor educate the soul to face a life to come. It was profoundly national, and outside the sympathies of the foreigners who filled the “sacrosanct city”; and every extension of the Roman citizenship and every new intercourse with the East steadily told upon the faith of Rome. There was, in consequence, a rapid growth of exotic worships—Egyptian, Phrygian, and Persian. The

government occasionally interposed and checked ; but the new faiths always grew. It is difficult to "put down enthusiasm" by State formalities. The worship of Cybele, brought to Rome in 204 B.C., was at one time guarded by restrictions ; but under the Empire it was celebrated with all its frenzied devotions, and directed by a Roman high priest. The worship of Isis, which the government had persistently tried to crush during the later years of the Republic, went through many vicissitudes. Augustus excluded it from the pomerium, Tiberius destroyed its temples ; but it was soon favoured in the highest quarters, and in the second century was regarded as a Roman cult.

M. Boissier has called attention to two facts which are specially characteristic of these cults.¹ One is their view of sacerdotalism, and the other is the important part which they allowed to women. The old Roman priest was sacerdotal, though he represented a department of the State. The efficacy of his rites was hindered neither by the previous immorality of his life, by the scepticism of his opinions, nor by the gaps in his theology. During the second Punic war C. Valerius Flaccus was chosen flamen, because he was so dissolute that his friends hoped that the restrictions of a flamen's life might keep him within bounds. Cæsar gained the position of chief pontiff in spite both of his immoral youth and of his lavish bribes. Nevertheless, there was no priestly order, though there were priestly colleges.

¹ *Religion Romaine*, p. 356.

The ancient Roman priests did not hold an exclusively sacerdotal position. "The head of each family was himself possessed of a status almost sacerdotal. Hence there was no need of special intermediaries between him and the gods."¹ Consequently the official priesthood did not advance claims that interfered with the private sacrifices of the family, or the ministrations of the priests of new external faiths. Very different were these priests from those of the State religion. They could not, like the Christian clergy, claim that under all normal conditions they were indispensable for the fullest union between this world and heaven. The existence of many gods implied the existence of many religious societies, and the priest of Cybele could not say that the ministers of Serapis had no spiritual authority. But they were sharply distinguished from the laity. They led a life befitting the emotional and imaginative character of their worship, and backed a sensuous ritual with an austere asceticism. They lived apart from the fretful duties of a citizen. Their diet was abstemious, and their mien was grave. They preached to win converts to their doctrines, and laboriously initiated the convinced inquirer. Inscriptions recorded their lavish sacrifices, and altars were carved with their names.

Women, virtuous or frivolous, zealously affected functions. They visited Isis, and loaded her images with jewels, more costly though not more

¹ Mr. Granger, *Worship of the Romans*, p. 246.

beautiful than the chaplets of flowers which were set upon the heads of the old national divinities. Serapis and Cybele also shared in the attentions of the fair penitents, not a few of whom were attracted by the worship of Judaism, and kept its fasts and sabbaths. The "low Jew" was able to tell the secrets of Sinai to many who were delicately reared and highly bred. Indeed, it was long before the quaint ceremonies of Judaism and its promises of temporal rewards ceased to attract the Gentile world. In the fourth Christian century the imperial laws of Constantine, of Constantius, and of Valentinian II. show that apostasy from Christ to Moses was not uncommon, and St. Chrysostom thundered against the childish Christians of Antioch for frequenting the Jewish festivals. As late as the ninth century the Judaism of southern Gaul seriously menaced Christianity. The weekly markets were postponed till Sunday that the Jewish sabbath might be kept intact, and the Empress Judith and her courtiers attended the services of the synagogue.

But if the rites of Egypt and Judæa did something to prepare the way for Christianity, by introducing into Roman minds a greater passion for another world, and a more serious regard for the responsibility of the priesthood, it is to the worship of Mithra that Christianity is said to be peculiarly indebted. It is even maintained that this worship gives us "the scientific explanation of the Christian phases of supernaturalism." Mithraism is said to

make intelligible the "episodes of the holy supper and the resurrection from the rock tomb, as well as the legend of the birth at Yuletide in a cave, the Sunday worship, and the Easter tragedy." Even the forty days of Lent and the round wafer used in the celebration of the Mass are derived from the same prolific original. That the disciples of Jesus, and those who believed through their word, should have adopted the main features of a Persian solar worship within a few years of their Master's death is strictly incredible. If we could confidently place the Gospels a hundred years later than their real date, we should still be obliged to connect the Christian Easter with the Jewish Passover, and believe that the Eucharist, as it is described by Justin Martyr, was more likely to have been the institution of a "new testament" than an imitation of the Mithraic meal.

Mithra appears in the Parsee system as an ally of Ahura-Mazda, the principle of good and light. He is the deity of the sun, and as such is sculptured as slaying the bull which represents the spring, and attacked by the scorpion which represents autumn. Probably on account of the slow winter sunrise from the cold earth, Mithra is entitled "Rock-born." His birth, or rather resurrection, was celebrated in a symbolic ceremony or "miracle-play." After this ceremony the throats of the worshippers were anointed. At other times, the worshippers partook of a loaf of bread and a cup of water. The worshippers of Mithra also adopted

the Phrygian custom of the Taurobolia, in which the devotee descended into a pit and was washed in the falling blood of a bull, in the hope of regeneration. The blood was even swallowed by the victims of this superstition. The worship of Mithra was introduced from Cilicia to Rome during the wars of Pompey. It attained an immense popularity, especially among soldiers. Inscriptions show that they brought it to the Rhine and to the British Roman wall. Probably the most perfect Mithræum known is that discovered in 1878 at Spoleto. It is a long and very narrow cave, with adjoining rooms for the priests. At the end of the cave were found the usual niches for the statue of Mithra and the two lamp-bearers, types of life and death. In front of the niches was a small altar, inscribed "Soli Invicto Mitrae Sacrum." Near it stood two large stones. The one was triangular, and of unknown meaning. The other was taller, conical, and artificially perforated. It was almost certainly an emblem of the rock out of which Mithra was born.¹

The above facts suggest that the resemblance of Mithraism to Christian worship or doctrine is only of the most superficial kind. It was just sufficient to make Mithraism a dangerous and aggressive rival, and, as such, excited the indignation of the

¹ *Archæologia*, vol. xlvii. p. 205. These and other discoveries give no support to the statement of M. Renan, that Mithraism had "some chapels which were very like little churches." *Conférences d'Angleterre*, p. 44.

contemporary Christian writers. Firmicus denounces the Taurobolia, Justin Martyr the Mithraic supper, and Tertullian the baptism in water. It has been supposed that Mithraists deliberately imitated Christian ceremonies. But although there would be a parallel to this in their adoption of the Phrygian Taurobolia, it may be safer to assume that Mithraism reciprocated the dislike felt by Christianity. On the other hand, it is quite irrelevant to speak of Christianity absorbing Mithraism. Christians in some few countries continued to speak of the *Dies Solis* as Sunday. And before the middle of the fourth century they began to observe Christmas, and chose for it the time of the winter solstice, when worshippers of Mithra and many other gods were keeping festival in honour of the changes of nature. Here, I believe, the debt of Christianity to Mithraism is ended, and it would not justify us in saying that Mithraism was transformed into Christianity. The fact that the Buddhists of Ceylon have lately provided a counter-attraction to Christmas by instituting a festival for the "Nativity of Buddha," and that the reformers of Hinduism are building mission-halls with weekly services, does not justify us in saying that Christianity has been transformed into Buddhism or into the Arya Samaj.

In fact, the supposition that Christianity either cunningly or unconsciously borrowed selections from rival faiths betrays some want of familiarity with Roman religious thought. The attitude of

paganism towards Christianity was not wholly unlike that of a large section of English Dissenters towards the Anglican Church. They believed there was something divine in it. Even Porphyry, the zealous opponent of Christianity, did not deny absolutely that Christ was God. Alexander Severus placed an image of Christ in his private chapel; and while imaginative Asiatics would have readily taken the worship of Christ into their own plastic superstitions, the Romans would have given Christianity a share in their respect with the serenity of the Chinese who passes from a Buddhist to a Taouist shrine. But the Romans found Christianity unaccountable and aggressive. It made high claims and was uncomfortably definite, self-sufficient, and detached. It did not condescend to treat the various forms of paganism as rival Churches, but as a dissolving view strewn with some fragments of religion. And it was exactly in accord with this exclusiveness that Christianity spread slowly and has lasted long.

The deepest instincts of Christianity were not only opposed to the idea that there could be fellowship between Christ and Belial; they were also opposed to the philosopher's conceptions of the Deity. It is true that Greek philosophy influenced the ideas of Christians concerning God. But the profounder and more original Christian ideas prevailed. A belief in God's creative, personal, and righteous will, His nearness and love, corrected the theology of Hellenism. Some of the early

Christian apologists contain latent traces of that Hellenic theology, and it expressed itself in various forms at Alexandria and Antioch during the third century. The defeat of Arianism, with its remote God and anomalous demigod, practically ended the struggle. By the opening of the fifth century the Christian tree of life had assimilated the wholesome elements which existed in the Greek doctrines about God, and had withered the evil which at one time lingered beneath its shadow.

But while the theology of the Church freed itself from conceptions of the Supreme Being which were antagonistic to the teaching of Jesus, popular ignorance began to reproduce in Christianity certain elements of polytheism. It would be in vain to try thoroughly to discuss in a few sentences the possible traces of paganism in that superstitious Christian veneration of the saints which is not content with a desire for their prayers.¹ As a rule, these superstitions, like the invocation of the evangelists still occasionally made by English children before going to bed, are probably not of pagan origin, but due to that fond and dreamy sympathy with unseen powers which is a salient mark of childish and uneducated minds. Sometimes they take a thoroughly pagan form, and an

¹ It is interesting to note that the Anglican *Bishops' Book*, or *Institution of a Christian Man*, of 1537, allows praying to saints "to be intercessors with us and for us," but condemns "invocation of them," *i.e.* praying to saints as though they could be the givers of spiritual or temporal blessings. *Formularies of Faith* (Oxford, 1825), p. 141.

eminent French ecclesiastic has lately pointed out such superstitions among the peasantry of France.¹ In other cases, and particularly in Russia, the ignorant still render honours to those Christian saints whose names most closely coincide with those of the gods of their heathen forefathers.² The Roman Catholic Church, while of course denying that divine honours may be paid to the saints, has sanctioned the organization of devotions to the saints, and especially to those of the Holy Family, which could only have been expressed in the same language if the saints had been believed to be divine.³ The most widespread of these devotions are of far too recent an origin to be connected with ancient heathenism, and therefore fall outside the limits of the present lecture. This is evident in regard to the cultus of St. Joseph, which was almost unknown among English Roman Catholics of the eighteenth century.

On the other hand, the present organization and worship of the Christian Church definitely retain some features of the Roman system of society. One of the most universal of these survivals is to be found in the dress of the clergy. The sacred vestments worn both in East and West at the

¹ Mgr. d'Hulst in *La France Chrétienne dans l'Histoire*, p. 635.

² Rambaud, *Histoire de la Russie*, p. 31.

³ Father Faber of the Oratory says of Mary, "The Church calls her by names that startle us, as if she had borrowed the titles of the Most High, and claimed common property in His attributes." *All for Jesus*, p. 345.

celebration of the Eucharist represent the official dress of the Roman gentleman of the fifth century. Altered in form and embellished with Christian emblems, they join our modern worship with the days of Leo and Augustine. The pallium, which is worn by all bishops of the Greek rite, and is received from the pope by archbishops of the Latin rite as a token of the jurisdiction with which he entrusts them, recalls the same period. It was worn as an ornament by Roman consuls, and appears to have been granted as a mark of honour by the imperial government to prominent and favoured bishops.

The ritual of marriage also shows a Roman and secular influence. Everything not directly religious in the Roman nuptial ceremony was sympathetically retained. Everything religious, such as the offerings of various sacrifices, was supplanted by purely Christian observances. The betrothal, the giving of the ring, the dowry of worldly goods, the bridal veil, and the floral wreath or metal crown, are all derived from pagan Rome. Yet he would be heartless who called them pagan. Like the adornment of churches with evergreens and flowers, they did not originate with Christianity; but they certainly do not corrupt its character. And it is a quaint freak of history that the wedding-ring and the bridal veil have a place in the affections of many a Protestant layman who gives the name of "milliner" to the clergyman who wears the chasuble of the Roman senators.

Lastly, the provincial organization of the Empire

suggested the areas of episcopal jurisdictions. The great historian Mommsen has thought that the Church "took its hierarchic weapons from the arsenal of the enemy"¹ by imitating the different grades of priests appointed in each province to direct the worship of the Roman emperor. This suggestion is a whimsical exaggeration of a fact. At first the jurisdiction of a Christian bishop had undefined boundaries. But it soon became necessary to determine where the territory of each church ended. The cities of the Empire presented boundaries ready-made. There was no reason to prevent their adoption by the Christian hierarchy, the different grades of which had existed previously. And when, in A.D. 381, it seemed prudent to erect an ecclesiastical jurisdiction superior to that of the metropolitan bishops, the five great "dioceses" of the Empire under their several "vicars" supplied the obvious boundaries. No one supposed that the process implied that the fabric of ecclesiastical dominion rested upon a secular basis. A parallel is found in the fact that certain districts marked out by the County Councils Bill have been adopted as administrative areas by some of the "Free Churches."

Having noticed certain points where Christian worship retained the accidents of paganism, we may conclude by inquiring whether the substance of Christian worship was altered during the first four centuries. There are quarters in which it is

¹ *Provinces of the Roman Empire*, vol. i, p. 349.

now regarded as illiberal to deny that "the whole conception of Christian worship was changed," and "changed by the influence upon Christian worship of the contemporary worship of the mysteries and and the concurrent cults."¹ He would indeed be a Laodicean who could approach such a theory with indifference. If it had been suggested with greater moderation and with less desire to make inductions where information is very incomplete it would have mattered little. There would be no harsh incredibility in the supposition that the early Church gathered and adopted the beauties that lay around her, and took the labours of the Gentiles in possession. But it is not easy to believe that her heart was so little knit to the Lord that she preferred the rites of Demeter to the reproach of Christ. According to M. Renan, Gnosticism formed a bridge by which a crowd of pagan practices entered into the Church, and through Gnosticism Christianity first proclaimed itself as a new religion with a worship and sacraments. With all the gaiety of a theological impressionist he sneered at the ingratitude of the Catholic Church for uttering anathemas on the dreams of Gnosticism while deriving happy thoughts on popular devotion from its magic creed.² Dr. Hatch embraced the idea quite seriously. With great patience he worked out an elaborate parallel between the ceremonies in

¹ Hatch, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 309.

² *L'Église Chrétienne*, p. 155.

honour of Demeter and the ceremonies used for initiation into Christianity during the fourth century. He thought the parallels sufficient to prove that Christian worship absorbed all the impassioned experiences of the Eleusinian mysteries. At these rites there was first an exclusion of notorious sinners. Then a confession of sin. There was a fast, a bath, a sacrifice. After this there was a procession of worshippers, who left Athens at sunrise and reached Eleusis at night. Here they enacted a symbolic drama, extinguishing their torches and standing outside the temple in darkness and silence. The doors opened—there was a blaze of light—and before them was enacted the story of Demeter and Koré. It was a symbol of the earth passing through its yearly periods, winter seeking for the summer that was lost, and looking for the birth of spring.

It has been supposed that the Valentinians imitated this in their prolonged preparation for baptism. They added elaborate anointings, and the Church has been accused of accepting their ritual, connecting baptism with a celebration of the Eucharist, much as the Mithraists had accepted the Demeter rites and added a common meal for the initiated.

The ground of the accusation is that in the earliest time baptism was extremely simple. It took place on conversion, and was administered with the least possible ritual. On the other hand, a baptism in the fourth century was connected

with a division between the initiated and uninitiated, a prolonged Lenten preparation, the giving of a "symbol" or pass-word in the shape of a creed, an anointing before baptism, another anointing or "sealing" after baptism, a celebration of the Mass, a majestic midnight service, a fixed time and place, and a terminology containing words borrowed from the Greek ceremonies.

Now it is possible that some of the bishops of the first three centuries were sentimentalists. Considering their surroundings, it is not very probable; and every Christian Father who speaks of the pagan mysteries speaks in a tone which would never have tolerated an imitation. Yet there may have been a few bishops, now unknown, who thought the mysteries very charming, graceful, and harmless. But there is no need to calculate the probability. The facts can be so naturally accounted for by other causes. Busy clergymen would naturally prefer a fixed time for baptism. And no time could be better than the eve of the Resurrection, for the next morning the converts would begin their risen life by feeding on the very Bread of Life. Lights are a universal symbol of joy, from Buddhist ceremonies to American elections, and demand no Eleusinian origin. The careful preparation for baptism which was not necessary for men trained in Jewish morality and faith, was of plain importance in the great cities of the Empire where the sense of religion was vitiated or lost.¹

¹ In A.D. 325 the second canon of the council of Nicæa insisted

The New Testament itself presents us with simple confessions of belief used as a pass-word to baptism. Fasting was employed by the first Jewish Christians before their spiritual functions, when no Gentile was yet a member of the Church. And though the Greek ecclesiastical writers borrow the language of pagan devotion, St. Paul and the Jew Philo had done the same. The man who enriches his vocabulary does not necessarily pervert his faith.

What is of more importance is that the ceremonies of the actual baptism cannot be proved to be of Gnostic origin. They universally included a triple renunciation of paganism, an anointing with perfumed oil after baptism, the signing with the cross on the forehead, and the laying on of hands.

These ceremonies were in use at the beginning of the fourth century. They are therefore earlier than the influx of the world into the Church.

They were in use at the very beginning of the third century. Tertullian distinctly mentions the renunciation of Satan, the anointing, the signing, the imposition of hands, the feeding on the body and blood of Christ, and finally even the draught of milk and honey which was given to the neophytes.

They were in use some time before the year 200. Tertullian speaks of them as long established. They are justified by what he calls "the patronage

on a due preparation for baptism with a special intention of preventing the hasty ordination of men who had "lately joined the faith after a Gentile life."

of custom." He mentions that the Marcionites use both the anointing and the draught of milk and honey. And we know that the Valentinians, though they differed widely from the Marcionites, regarded the anointing as essential.

From this I can only draw three conclusions. Firstly, that the draught of milk and honey and the anointing with oil, to which was attached the sign of the cross, are the only baptismal rites which cannot claim the plea of obvious convenience or the direct sanction of the New Testament. Secondly, it appears to me to be practically certain that these ceremonies existed in the Church before the final secession of the Valentinians and Marcionites. Thirdly, I think that the symbolic words of St. John with regard to the anointing received of God, and the milk and honey spoken of by Joel, are more likely to have been translated into ritual than that "the whole conception of Christian worship was changed by the contemporary worship of the mysteries." That the Gnostics parodied the prayers of the Church for their own services is proved beyond dispute by the *Acts of Thomas*. This early sectarian work contains both an imitation of early baptismal prayers, and a Eucharistic prayer with an extraordinary travesty of the Catholic invocation of the Holy Ghost to consecrate the sacrament.¹

The apologist does no more than criticize this

¹ Mr. Chase, *The Lord's Prayer in the Early Church* (Cambridge, 1891), p. 37.

exaggerated notion of the influence of Greek paganism on Christianity. To drag it into ridicule has been reserved for other hands. M. Renan and Dr. Hatch, and more recently Dr. Anrich of Strassburg, derive some of the ritual of the sacraments from Gnosticism and the Eleusinian rites. But a recent English writer has attempted to prove that St. Paul, during his stay at Corinth, was so impressed with the symbolism and fellowship of the Eleusinian mysteries that he believed an advantage would accrue to Christianity from a similar institution. St. Paul therefore "asserts that such a sacrament was sanctioned by a special communication from his Lord; and he brings it into connection with the Supper in the chamber at Jerusalem." In due time the novelty receives the imprimatur of the evangelists. The learned author concludes by piously eulogizing the apostle for his spiritual diplomacy. "Surely," he says, "there is nothing in all this to pain or shock a modern Christian?"¹ And so he merges the tragedy of Persephone into the comedy of historical scepticism.

Such criticisms have a use. They remind us that the Church is the house which the divine Wisdom built to offer fruition after many foretastes, truth after many shadows, and, after many wistful wanderings, a home.

¹ Professor Percy Gardner, *The Origin of the Lord's Supper* (Macmillan & Co., 1893), p. 19.

CHAPTER III.

THE PERSONALITY OF JESUS.

It is not the Spirit, but the Body of God, God received by and beautifying the senses and the affections, by which we are saved. MR. COVENTRY PATMORE, *The Rod, the Root, and the Flower*, p. 126.

I.

THE best teachers instruct men on a double principle. They are aware that their teaching can only become effective through the confidence which they are able to inspire, and they are determined to win men through that confidence. On the other hand, they scrupulously avoid the attempt to make their pupils breathing instruments of their language and convictions. They know that the disciple may be greater than his master, and that their own methods will need modifications and improvements. They earnestly desire that their own personality shall not be continually present within the horizon of another's mind, and they suspect dangers in an unlimited devotion. For thought and goodness must be kindled by a living fire, and yet must be kept aglow when the torch is extinguished. The ancient Indian legends of the Buddha show him to have been conscious of this double principle,

With touching simplicity we are told that men followed him "as a calf follows a cow," and nevertheless he gave the command, "Be yourselves your lamp, yourselves your refuge."¹ He believed that each might for himself gain the sinless rest which appeared to him the goal of effort.

Widely different was the method of Jesus. Its originality consists in the fact that, while He was careful to stimulate thought by suggestive parables, and to elicit the free development of belief rather than make belief inevitable, He claimed an absolute and permanent mastery over men. Nothing but a dull familiarity could blind us to the boldness of His conception. Human thought has never sketched so great a plan.

He does not set before Himself the reformation of an institution, or a wholesome revolution in the society of His country. He is the architect of a grander design. He sets before Him the creation of a universal kingdom, and of a genuine holiness similar to that of the Father in Heaven. The first step towards the attainment of this holiness is an unreserved devotion to Himself. He had been subject to His own mother and reputed father, and in His last agony He remembered her at whose breast He had been nursed; but He commands men to feel hatred for father and mother in comparison with their love for Himself. He says "Come unto Me," with the assurance that those who hear Him will find rapture in acquiescence,

¹ Bishop Copleston, *Buddhism*, p. 72.

and see their inward fightings hushed in rest and awe. He calls His disciples friends and not slaves, for they are meant to enter into His plans ; and yet they are His own commandments which they are bidden to keep. No one can be His disciple who does not leave to Him all initiative in action, and this abandonment and loss of independence, so far from being a waste of character, is the secret of its preservation : "Whosoever shall lose his soul for my sake and the gospel's shall save it."

Throughout this stupendous claim to be the master and standard of conduct, Jesus shows himself utterly unconscious of any flaw in His motives or actions. He never appears sensible of any moral imperfection or unworthiness. "I have sinned exceedingly," is the confession which is uttered by every human heart which is not hollow. But it finds no echo in any word that Jesus spoke about Himself. He fought His way through those experiences which make goodness difficult. He faced that popularity which is disastrous to many whose lives might have remained hid with God. He knew the cruel loneliness which is shared in a measure by all who possess great moral intuitions and perceive that they have an exceptional vocation. He experienced the desolation of those who have to watch alone for dawning strength ; and even the comfort of the divine presence which has steadied the martyrs in their torture, forsook Him on the cross. But He never had to face the misgivings of

conscience. Hard as was His deathbed, He did not die like Muhammad, joining a whisper for pardon to murmurs concerning the "companionship of the blessed." It may be replied that we are dependent upon the biographers of Jesus, and that biographers generally conceal the defects of their heroes. However plausible the reply may be, the fact remains that the story of Christ's life raises us into an atmosphere where sin could not breathe. Critics who have accused Him of petulance have pointed to the words spoken to His mother at the marriage feast, to the Syro-Phœnician woman, and to the barren fig tree.¹ It is singular that miraculous stories are employed as evidence against Jesus by men who believe that miracles cannot occur. To convict Jesus of sin is evidently still impossible.

So marked is this absence of any repentant memory, or of the smallest disloyalty to God, that strangers to the Gospel story might expect to read there of a mechanical figure, like the phantom and magician Christ of the ancient apocryphal literature, or of some Greek god lifted above our fretfulness and cares. M. Renan has spoken of the "rare dexterity" with which the evangelists have avoided that unreal phantom. So matchless is that "dexterity" that if their Christ were indeed a fiction, the authors of such a fiction might almost be named divine. For they describe a personality

¹ A good instance of such criticism is to be found in Mr. Chadwick, *Old and New Unitarian Belief*, p. 156.

which is nearer earth because so close to heaven. History has nothing equal to that quick, wide sympathy. He canonized distinctive friendship, for He drew nearest to Himself a man who had been headstrong but became the apostle of the love of God. He knew the charm of a frank character unspotted from the world, and when He saw the young ruler who had kept the commandments from his youth up He "loved him." There was one household where He was peculiarly at home, and "Jesus wept" when death had taken a member of that household to the grave. The meekness and lowliness of heart, which He only of those born on earth could attribute to Himself, was the counterpart of a tender, crystalline affection which for eighteen centuries has exercised a profound attraction on every one who has trusted that he is one of the children whom Jesus has gathered to His arms. It was a sympathy which regarded no company too mean and no place too poor. It consoled the outcasts of the world, and lifted them with the assurance that He was "come to save" with a salvation of which He showed no need Himself. Jesus dispensed this salvation, and did not merely exhort the shattered conscience to apply to God for forgiveness. He granted forgiveness. To the man crippled with palsy He says, "Son, thy sins are forgiven"; with radiant words He pardons the woman who bent at his feet—"Her sins, which are many, are forgiven, for she loved much." To the thief, who in his last hour

recognizes the beauty of His holiness, He says, "This day shalt thou be with Me in paradise."

This manifold claim of Jesus to be the Master of conduct is certainly presented with persuasive sympathy; but it is also sustained with overwhelming resolution. A calm and splendid severity is the accompaniment of His gentle tones. Sentimental scepticism and degenerate Christianity are responsible for the opinion that the teaching of Jesus has in it something that is less exacting than other codes, that it points to a debonair Providence which arranges everything for the comfort of the listless who refuse a duel with their doubts. But the thoughtful of every creed are impressed by the searching and strenuous character of Christ's doctrine. It infinitely deepens that foundation of rectitude which upheld the structure of Judaism; and it is as dissatisfied with a bad motive as with a bad action. And this deepening process is not a process which Jesus sanctions by an appeal to the authority of God. He boldly quotes the ancient commandments and issues His own: "Ye have heard that it was said to them of old times . . . but I say unto you." With intense dogmatism, and every suggestion of His own infallibility, He reiterates, "I say," "Verily I say." He seems to place Himself before His hearers as an incarnate conscience; and, in complete accordance with this self-assertion, He proclaims that He will judge the world. Christians are to be judged and rewarded according to their use or neglect of the

talents entrusted to them; "the nations," according to those works of humanity, such as feeding the hungry and clothing the naked, to which their conscience prompted them, and which "the King" will regard as ministered to Himself. He is to execute judgment because He is "the Son of Man." This was the name which Christ preferred to give Himself. It is a title given to the Messiah in the Jewish *Book of Enoch*, though not recognized by the Jewish populace as Messianic. Jesus uses it to describe Himself as the ideal Man, in whom humanity is taken up. Whether He meant it to suggest His Messiahship or not, it is plain that the title implies a unique claim. It has lately been contended that Jesus never personally designated Himself "the Son of Man," but that the disciples were responsible for applying it to Him after His decease. This is in defiance of all evidence, and the suggestion could only come from a quarter in which the Gospels are considered as inconveniently supernatural and authoritative in tone.¹

¹ Mr. Estlin Carpenter, *The Synoptic Gospels*, pp. 387, 388. It is not easy to trace the interpretation put upon the title "Son of Man" in the *Hibbert Lectures* of Dr. Drummond, Mr. Estlin Carpenter's colleague. In one place (p. 163) he uses ambiguous language about the coming of the "Son of Man," which may imply that this coming is the advent of a person, or is only a figure of speech for the advent of righteousness. In the same passage it is said that this coming "is encrusted with the Messianic idea of the Jews." In another place (p. 52) Christ is said to have found support in such words as, "The Son of Man goeth, even as it is written of Him." But on the next page this and similar references to prophecy are said to be "of that general kind which a devout man naturally

It cannot be denied that a consistent and convincing grandeur marks these resolute assertions of authority and moral truth. Jesus offers precisely what men need who are endeavouring to do better, who do not look upon their past without regret, who require an ideal. To the soul of many nations this authoritative teaching comes like remembered music from forgotten days. If for a while it seems to leave us, it comes back to ask what we are giving in exchange for our souls, and to warn us that if we are ashamed to confess Christ before men, He will be ashamed to confess us before His Father Which is in heaven. Those who desert Him return to kiss the dust where His footsteps trod. To those who seek Him He presents Himself as the answer to that piteous cry which a great French novelist has expressed : "O master, master, where art thou, whom I long to love and to serve, to whom I commit myself? Thou alone, O master, if somewhere thou hast existence, be thou axiom, religion, or prince of men." Other teachers may have guessed the desire of self-renunciation which is hidden in the human soul ; Jesus alone manifested both the courage and the ascendancy of character which could demand that this immolation be made to Himself, and require that the disciple's heart be His without reserve.

Certainly Jesus did not miscalculate His powers.

applies to his own case." Surely Dr. Drummond does not think that a devout man usually speaks of himself in words encrusted with the Messianic idea ?

That great moral renovation of individual souls which we sometimes see accomplished is no obscure argument to show that He knew what was in man and in Himself. He has been a day-spring of goodness and aspiration in human life, and the earliest Christian writers have a positive theory as to the origin of this Christian life. We naturally illustrate this from the writings of St. Paul. These are the first Christian documents which can be definitely dated. The first was written some twenty years after the death of Jesus, and the last was written while multitudes of His contemporaries were still alive. What does St. Paul assume? He assumes that his fellow Christians, whether they are under his own personal influence or not, hold a conviction concerning Jesus to which he can appeal as just reason for a definite line of conduct on their part. The Philippians are to be humble. Why? Because we can be like what we worship, and they worship Jesus Who, though He had the essential attributes of God, "humbled Himself and became obedient unto death." In writing one of his letters to the Corinthians, a letter which the deepest scepticism has admitted to be genuine, he bids them to be liberal to the poor. Why? Because Christ, though rich, made Himself a beggar for their sakes. The apostle's flesh has been the battle-ground of two hostile forces. Now he really lives. What sustains him? Christ "Who loved me and gave Himself up for me."

Nothing can be plainer. Christian conduct is already in trenchant opposition to Hebrew formalism, and to that tempest of the senses which many in Galatia and Corinth identified with life. The Christian character is emerging under the impulse of a conviction that Jesus is God. The New Testament is a reservoir of this conviction. Jesus is the object not only of affection, but of prayer. He is an example that has no parallel, and a healer that has no rival, because He is "God with us." The writers of the several Epistles, in spite of the striking independence of their style of thought and writing, are here united. St. Paul and St. John find the supreme vindication of the Father's love to men in the fact that He "sent" and "gave" His Son, words which imply that the Son pre-existed in heaven before He was born on earth. St. Jude, and even St. James, the least theological writer of the New Testament, call themselves "bond-servants" of Jesus Christ.

Such a conviction might not have been extraordinary among Greeks, or among the half Hellenic races of Asia Minor. To deify a hero, a magician, or a prophet was the spontaneous action of their moral and intellectual constitution. One of the most famous of these deified teachers was Apollonius of Tyana, the contemporary of Nero and Domitian. "He has a temple at Tyana," says Philostratus, "for the emperors have thought him not unworthy of the honours of which they themselves were deemed worthy." But in the case of

religious Jews, who regarded their nation as the very mouthpiece of the doctrine that God is One, a belief in the Divinity of a human master is in the highest degree extraordinary. It is as if one and the same author had written the Talmud and the Gospels. It is so extraordinary, so thoroughly outside the general order of facts, that it compels us to believe that they were not indulging a conjecture of their own, but putting the only lawful interpretation upon the words of Jesus. And the sayings of His which have been mentioned above, imply a quite unique relationship with the Father. There are many other passages which show His absolute confidence in this fact, and in the justice of His claim upon man's allegiance. He does not declare Himself to be God in such a way as to suggest that He is another God in addition to the God of Israel, but He represents Himself as an inmate of the Godhead. He places His authority on a level with that of the Father when He commands an impotent man to carry his bed on the sabbath day and justifies His action by co-ordinating His work with God's. He affirms a right to the honour which is paid to the Father. He says, "I and My Father are one thing," in a context which obliges us to recognize a unity, not only of co-operation, but of omnipotence. The reception of Christ leads to a communion between Himself and the believer which resembles the flow of life from the vine into its branches.

It may be urged that these passages rest only

on the authority of the fourth Gospel. But this theology is not only supported by the Epistles; the synoptic Gospels also leave upon our mind the same complex impression concerning Christ's personality. It is the impression of a Christ Who desires men to claim full brotherhood with Him, and yet is severed from them by so great a distance that it can only be bridged by a faith equal to the faith that reaches from man to God. The picture of Jesus in the Synoptists breathes with latent Deity. Peter is to be the rock on which the Church is founded, because at a critical moment he has confessed Jesus to be both Christ and "the Son of the living God." St. Mark's Gospel, which is sometimes pitted against the other three as so genuine and so undogmatic, shows no omission, either arbitrary or unconscious, of dogmatic elements. Jesus there abrogates Jewish doctrine with peculiar incisiveness: this Gospel alone records His pronouncement that the sabbath was made for man and not man for the sabbath, and mentions the approbation given by Him to the scribe who sets the love of God and of his neighbour above external sacrifices. Mark records His claim to found a universal faith, for the Gospel must be preached "unto all nations." The priests at Jerusalem dispute with Jesus, and Mark does not omit His reply: it is the parable about the killing of the "one son," the "heir," the "beloved," a parable which any sober criticism must recognize as an assertion of the supernatural origin of the

Speaker. "Art Thou the Christ, the Son of the Blessed?" asked the highpriest on the night before the Crucifixion. "Jesus said, I am: and ye shall see the Son of Man sitting at the right hand of power, and coming with the clouds of heaven." Thus St. Mark has written, and he adds that the highpriest then called this "blasphemy," absolutely corroborating the record of the fourth Gospel, that the Jews declared, "We have a law, and by that law he ought to die, because he made himself the Son of God."

It appears an inevitable conclusion that Jesus desired at all hazards to secure a belief in His Divinity, and that He developed this belief in His adherents with an unfaltering endeavour through inconceivable sorrows and oppositions. He was aware of the felon's death which awaited His claim to Divinity, and to establish that claim was content to let His blood be poured upon the world that He had served so well. It was in consequence of this claim being recognized that He became the author of a new manliness, in which human self-renunciation has been inspired by devotion to a Father in heaven, humility and pain recognized as laws of self-development, and purity secured by love. This renovated manliness seems to postulate revealed Deity. The personality of Jesus will always be regarded as unique; but unless His claim to be "one thing" with the Father be true, and therefore credible, the secret of that personality must be eternally hidden from our eyes.

II.

When we say that the Divinity of Jesus is to be believed, we must be prepared to meet adverse criticism. A leader of Agnosticism writes as follows: "In the time of Christ no one imagined that he was of divine origin. This was an after-growth. In order to place themselves on an equality with pagans, they stated the claim of divinity, and also took the second step requisite in that country. First, a god for his father, and, second, a virgin for his mother. This was the pagan combination of greatness, and the Christian added to this that Christ was God." Sometimes, however, the criticism assumes a scientific form, and gives an analysis of the earliest theories held as to the person of Jesus. This has been carefully done by Dr. Martineau and by other Unitarians.¹ It is urged that Jesus was construed successively into—

(1) the *Jewish* ideal, or Messiah ;

(2) the *Human* ideal, or second and spiritual Adam ;

(3) a divine *Incarnation*, whose celestial glory gleamed through the disguise of his earthly ministry.

This construction of theories is asserted to be only a fanciful achievement of early Christian thought. "The personal attendants of Jesus worked out the first; the apostle of the Gentiles,

¹ Dr. Martineau, *Seat of Authority in Religion*, p. 361.

the second ; the school whence the fourth Gospel proceeded, the third." As this is perhaps the most scientific shape which this adverse criticism has assumed, we may discuss whether it falls within possible limits.

In the first place, this analysis assumes an unreal difference between the teaching of the fourth Gospel and that of St. Paul. St. Paul not only believed that Jesus was the Jewish ideal and the Human ideal, but also the divine Incarnation. This is admitted even by critics who have made no pretension to orthodoxy. Professor Reuss says, "Paul speaks in several places of the divine nature of Christ." He adds that the Epistle to the Colossians contains "the dogma of the hypostasis of the Word," which is found in St. John. The apostle represents the divine nature as making a revelation of itself, first in an abstract sphere, and then in the human nature of Jesus. If the genuineness of this Epistle be denied, then the evidence of the Epistle to the Philippians remains. Rationalist critics now frequently regard that epistle as authentic, although it asserts that Christ "pre-existed in the form of God." The word *form* of God cannot be interpreted as implying only a resemblance or analogy between Christ and God. The passage teaches that the divine nature of Jesus Christ is something essential, and the human nature is something added to that Divinity. And although the Christology of the undisputed epistles of St. Paul is less developed,

it is incomprehensible on the supposition that the apostle did not believe in a divine Incarnation. It contains the idea, foreign to Judaism, that a pre-existent divine Person became man, and in a crucial passage in the *Romans* Christ is called "God blessed for ever."

In the second place, this analysis assumes that the fourth Gospel was not the work of a "personal attendant of Jesus." I hope in a future lecture to deal with an important point in this assumption, without attempting to deal with the whole of a much-disputed problem. Every possible argument and insinuation has been employed to discredit the value of this document. Professor Huxley called it "a theosophic romance of the first order." Dr. Martineau said "it would seem to have become known in the sixth or seventh decade of the second century." Mr. Voysey has denied it even the artistic merit which has been respected by other Humanitarians. In spite of this, the date assigned by Rationalists has gradually receded, and gradual admissions have been made as to the historical element in the work. To some of the greatest modern scholars the Johannine authorship appears inevitable. The Semitic style of writing proves it to have been written by one who spoke Aramaic in his youth. The metaphysical conception of God in the opening verses of the Gospel can hardly be called exclusively Jewish, but Judaism contained all the elements necessary for the organic development of this idea. The statements put into the

mouth of the populace reflect exactly what we know of contemporary Jewish thought. The writer was certainly acquainted with the topography of Palestine, and with Jerusalem before it was destroyed. It was remarked by the learned Jewish convert, Dr. Edersheim, that the conversation at the Paschal Supper can only be explained on the hypothesis that the writer both knew the ritual arrangement of the table and was himself a guest.¹ There are countless details to make the supposition of a forgery improbable, and I doubt whether this supposition would have been so common if there were not truth in the words of Mr. Voysey, that "St. John reports Jesus as claiming for himself that he was equal with God the Father in heaven, and that he was *sent* by God into the world as a God to be obeyed, trusted in, loved and honoured exactly as we ought to obey, trust, love and honour the One God our Father."²

In the third place, the analysis attempted by Dr. Martineau is in open contradiction with the synoptic Gospels. These three Gospels represent Jesus as accepting the name of Lord and Christ. It is quite impossible to dissect His story as we can dissect the story of Krishna and Buddha, and say that we have reached an original figure which is encrusted with very little that is supernatural. The mass of the material contained in the first three Gospels can be safely declared older than

¹ *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, vol. ii. p. 494.

² *The Sling and the Stone*, vol. x. p. 191.

A.D. 70, and it is based on previous materials of the same character, whether written or oral. We have in the so-called Gospel of Peter a real document of the second century, and it presents a marked contrast to our canonical Gospels, which preserve the language and ideas appropriate to the date of Christ's ministry, and to no other known period. Now our Gospels do not merely suggest that Jesus is Christ. The writers are convinced that Jesus was Christ, and desired to be preached as Christ. So Mr. Voysey admits that Jesus claimed the Messiahship at Cæsarea Philippi, and Dr. Martineau says that in the first and third Gospels "the Messiahship of Jesus occupies the very foreground," while the second evangelist, though less definite, is nevertheless "possessed with the same interpretation of the life he sketched." There were grave reasons why Jesus should not wish His Messianic office to be recklessly proclaimed. Most contemporary Jews held a conception of the Messiah very different from the Isaianic Emmanuel, who, although he was to rule the land, was to suffer privation and want, and from the suffering servant of Jehovah, at whose word the kings were to shut their mouths in reverence, but his form was to be marred more than the sons of men. But I cannot realize the process by which some writers are able to persuade themselves that Jesus only made the same use of the Scriptures as any ordinary pious Jew, and that He did not claim, in a special sense, to

have been "anointed" to preach the gospel to the poor.

These writers test the evidence of the Synoptists by a narrowly subjective standard. When the evidence is inconvenient it is thrown aside. It would really seem as if the writers were afraid of being outwitted by their own conscience. Mr. Estlin Carpenter,¹ unable to ignore the fact that Jesus calls himself "Lord" in the Petrine Gospel of St. Mark, and unwilling to abandon his theory that St. Paul was mainly responsible for the supernatural meaning of this word as employed in the New Testament, asks, "Is it, perhaps, one of the delicate signs that the Gospel according to Mark (as well as Luke) was written under influences proceeding from the Apostle Paul?" Similarly, Dr. Martineau systematically rejects the more authoritative utterances of Jesus as "out of character with his spirit," and betokening an "inner breach of character." He dislikes the "dogmatic assertion" involved in the statement of Jesus that "no man knoweth the Father but the Son." He asks, "Who that listens to his large plea for sabbatical freedom, that 'the sabbath was made for man, not man for the sabbath,' can believe that he spoiled it by narrowing its ground to the self-proclamation, 'One greater than the temple is here'?"² In other words, we are promised that the exaltation of Jesus will prove to be a mythology,

¹ *The Synoptic Gospels*, p. 123.

² *Seat of Authority in Religion*, p. 582.

and promised a scientific explanation of the difference between the theory of Jesus as held by Himself and as held by His disciples; and the explanation turns out to be, that an able modern author dislikes "dogmatic assertion," however good the evidence for its accuracy may be. Such criticism as that of Dr. Martineau may do something to loosen the hold which Jesus has on men; but it only does so in virtue of a metaphysical conception of God or the universe which has been attained by eliminating the most important phenomena presented by the life of Jesus. Agnostics and Unitarians are here guilty of a mistake in logic. They cannot deny that in the earliest records Jesus has a supernatural character. They cannot absolutely deny the possibility of a miraculous event such as the Incarnation. The Agnostic can only discuss the value of witness to the miraculous; an absolute denial of it would cause him to cease from being "Agnostic." And the "Theist" or Unitarian will, with Dr. Martineau, "leave room for assent, at least partial and suspended, in regard to incidents related as miraculous," because "there is always room for the unexpected in the gaps of undetermined law,"¹ and he will wish to repudiate the vulgar assumption that "the cosmic causalities and the divine are mutually exclusive." He will therefore repudiate the opinion that

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 592. Is not the distinguished author somewhat hasty in here accusing "theologians" of teaching that, "you cannot be sure of the touch of God till you are outside of nature"?

"incidents related as miraculous" are necessarily contrary to the causalities and laws of nature. Moreover, the Agnostic and the Unitarian will not ordinarily reject a belief in the Divinity of Jesus for the reason alleged by Mr. Voysey, that "an Incarnation, if it occurred, deliberately put God further away," and "infinitely degraded the conception of God as He is." Few men have more eloquently refuted such a paradox than Dr. Martineau himself. The belief in the Divinity of Jesus has become wrought into the nobler conceptions of Europe, and therefore this belief cannot be refused on the ground that it has hindered moral progress, and that consequently, in a universe rationally created, no Incarnation can have taken place. We may fairly conclude that there is no historical probability in any theory which denies that Jesus advanced truly divine claims, and that no philosophical argument can be alleged against the acceptance of such claims, except an argument which is based upon a belief that the supreme Reason or Cause is of a nature which cannot be fully revealed to rational beings in one rational human life.

But in addition to the men who maintain that Jesus did not think about Himself as we think about Him, or speak of Himself as divine, there are others who declare that He permitted His followers to deify Him. In a Unitarian amendment of the Book of Common Prayer, published at Wellington, New Zealand, in 1886, I read that Christ's "worship will be gradually dropped by

sensible people. Yet Jesus may not have been entirely ambitious. Carried away by his own peculiar powers, he may have become slightly insane." And elsewhere we see Christ accused of irritability, and vanity, and similar defects. This goes to prove that, if we once attempt to reduce Christ to a man, there are many things in the Gospels which cannot enter into the composition of an ideal figure. The process leaves us with a portrait which is like neither Jesus nor anybody else. It is that of a teacher who is profoundly religious, and at the same time filled with the irreligious conceit of thinking himself of much finer clay than other men. It would be illegitimate for us to speak with bitterness of the gipsies of religion, who are always pitching their restless tent somewhere on the outskirts of Christianity, and sustain their life on what they pilfer from our creeds. We have seen some of the miseries of nomad life. But it is not illegitimate for us to express surprise that the name of Christ and of Christian should appear morally precious to these minds which subject Christ to the laws of human conditions, and occasionally have sufficient acumen to perceive that He then appears an incoherent figure. There is a keen irony in Rationalist criticism; but it is not orthodoxy which has suffered from the edge of its knife.

Nor can this irony be parried by the suggestion that Jesus, though not insane, was enthusiastically imaginative. It has been urged that the idea of

the Messiah permeated the very air which Jesus breathed, and slowly sank into His consciousness. I think this theory greatly exaggerates the sympathy which existed between Jesus and His contemporaries. There was very little idea of any Messiah with whom Jesus could identify Himself. The Pharisees regarded Him as a blasphemer. They had already entered upon that stage of thought in which the Law was idealized and almost personified—"loved for its own sake," as the Rabbi Saphra said—regarded as the last word of God to man. This idealization of the Law has lasted until the disintegration of Judaism in our own century; and it has always proved, as St. Paul found it, the enemy of the Messiahship of Jesus. Nor had the Sadducees many points of contact with the conception which Jesus held concerning Himself. The Sadducee neither saw, nor felt, nor tasted anything so spiritual. He raised earth-works between God and his soul. The distinctive characteristics of his articles of faith were negative. He probably took no more interest in the coming of the Messiah than do his descendants on the Stock Exchange. The Essene sect held Jesus to be gluttonous and a wine-bibber. Even the disciples of John the Baptist were persuaded of Christ's mission with difficulty; and the genuine Essenes were probably as hard of heart as the five ascetics who deserted Buddha when he doubted whether fierce self-torture and blank unconsciousness were means towards the highest good. As for the

populace, they often heard Jesus gladly ; but when did a populace ever form an ideal of a Messiah who denied that its voice was the voice of God? The vague rumour of a renovation which sometimes stirs through the soul of the masses is not enough to outweigh the radical antagonism which is invariably felt against the law of self-sacrifice. Jesus never so proclaims Himself as to make us think that He is taking advantage of a sentiment, and even unconsciously gliding down a stream which He thinks will enrich the fields of God. He did indeed accept the praises of the people when He entered Jerusalem on Palm Sunday, but that was when He was deliberately facing death with the declaration that He was Christ. The measured character of His final actions is the best refutation of the theory that Jesus died for an idea and was a visionary so foolish as either to be ignorant of what He said or to affirm the greatest of all possible nonsense.

This sober calm and sanity of Jesus annihilates the graceful rhapsodies of M. Renan. His descriptions of Jesus are woven from so many psychological threads, that to unravel them one by one is to find that their number is only equalled by their weakness. Fortunately, however, he has criticized his own Christ. He has both shown us the texture of his own tapestry and passed judgment on the portrait. "Jesus was charming!"¹ are his last words on the last great figure in his *History of*

¹ *Histoire du Peuple d'Israel*, vol. v. p. 418.

the People of Israel. And certainly no higher epithet is deserved by the portrait he has drawn. As to its accuracy, what does that matter? M. Renan himself, in speaking of the Gospels, said, "The portrait of a sublime character gains nothing by conformity with a real hero." And his admirers have no right to complain if we apply to his *Life of Jesus* the same rule that he applied to the authentic documents, and say that "the real hero" was different from M. Renan's portrait, because He was consistently master of His emotions and ideas. And yet M. Renan professed to understand Jesus, and declared that "in his general physiognomy he was such as the synoptic Gospels represent him to us."¹ How, then, did Jesus come to speak of Himself as He does in these Gospels? Scattered through his various books, M. Renan's numerous reasons are inconsistent with one another, and inconsistent, not only with the general impression left upon us by the Synoptists, but also with the high veneration which the author pays to Christ. In one passage Christ's doctrine is said to have been "borrowed perhaps from some provincial tendency": in another He appropriates the very heart of orthodox Judaism by adopting the title of "Son of David," suggested to Him by the "innocent frauds" of His followers. In one passage M. Renan says that "in him was condensed everything that is good and elevated in our nature": in another we are elaborately told

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 416.

that we must not expect to find among Orientals, as "in our rigid consciences," an absolute opposition between "good faith and imposture."

The value of such an explanation becomes evident later, when we are told that Jesus was not able "to moderate the greediness of the crowd and of his own disciples for the marvellous," and consequently allowed Lazarus and his family to perform a burlesque resurrection. Certainly before we admire such a Christ we must "divest ourselves of the instinctive repugnances which are the fruit of a purely reasonable education." Otherwise it will be difficult for us to give the epithet "charming" to a Jesus who first grew dissatisfied with the title of Rabbi, then with that of Prophet, and finally "wished that people should regard him as having with God a more elevated relation than that of other men."

M. Renan invites us to venerate a Christ, of whom he says, "Desperate, pushed to an extremity, he no longer belonged to himself. His mission weighed upon him, and he obeyed the stream," and "sometimes his ill temper at all resistance led him to inexplicable and apparently absurd actions." Few people would recognize, under such representations of self-forgetfulness and violence, Jesus, "such as the synoptic Gospels represent him."

But in the midst of this tissue of modern mythology, M. Renan makes a statement of graver importance, and one which must not be overlooked. He admits that his theory leads to the conclusion

that Jesus encouraged fables about Himself, "popular creations," which He neither would nor could disprove. But he suggests that Jesus spoke truly when He used language which implied that He was "the realization of the divine." He says, "All that is sublime participates in the divine, and the Christ of the Gospels is the most beautiful incarnation of God in the most beautiful of forms, which is the moral man." And again, "In his poetic conception of nature, a single breath penetrates the universe: the breath of man is that of God; God dwells in man, lives by man, just as man dwells in God, lives by God. The transcendent idealism of Jesus never permitted him to have a very clear notion of his own personality. He is his Father, his Father is he." This theory has spread among men who approach Christ with more reverent aspirations than M. Renan. They admit that the divine life stirred within Jesus with unexampled power. They are convinced that in Him the divine voice spoke with unexampled clearness. They do not repudiate the fact that Jesus really applied to Himself words substantially the same as the sayings in the fourth Gospel. They believe that the conscience of Jesus never lost its first limpid clearness. And they are too serious to copy M. Renan and approach Christ with the words, "Behold the living God," while believing Him to be less than God. For they do not honour Him as they honour the Father. They reject the conclusion which the Christian Church has always

drawn from the words of Jesus, and they feel compelled to give a reason for their rejection. It is the plea of M. Renan. It is that Jesus only meant that He was flooded with the life of God and conscious of that flood; that He was in such close communion with His Maker that He could tell His disciples that when they saw what was deepest in Him they saw God. This explanation is given wistfully and earnestly, but we must refuse it. It is no explanation. If Jesus had been trained in Persian mysticism, it might have held good. Early in the eleventh century after Christ, a Persian poet taught the doctrine that "the knower of God is he who is God," and this identification of self with God became a favourite theory with the Quietists of that country. The Koran gave no room whatever for such a doctrine, which is, however, identical with the Indian Vedânta teaching that Brahma is the sole existent being, and that the sage is himself Brahma. The Persian Quietists were consequently obliged, either openly to modify the monotheistic teaching of the Koran, or to take refuge in fanciful interpretations. Hafiz is the prince of this method, but the same dreams are told in the poems of Sa'di and 'Omar Khayyam. Now they declared that they were one with the beloved Deity, because they were not Monotheists, but Pantheists and fatalists, driven, as 'Omar says, like a ball from the bat in the hand of God. And they translated their theology into action. In their denial of the freedom of the human will

they found an excuse for yielding to the senses, and by identifying the human soul with God, they broke the outline of any severe conception of God's holiness. It is with perfect justice that the Epicurean finds in the verses of Hafiz the lust of the eye and of the flesh, while the ascetic, vowed to poverty and meditation, can discover all the sweets of mysticism. The moral tone is lax and effeminate, and moral distinctions are even regarded as illusions. 'Omar sings :

What matters faith, unfaith, obedience, sin?
Thou'rt all we need, the rest is vanity.

This is Aryan thought, and not Semitic. It saturates modern Hinduism, and is largely responsible for the moral defects conspicuous in the inhabitants of India. It is used as an excuse for polytheism by the pandits. They say the water of the Ganges is still Ganges water when there are only a few drops in the palm of a hand ; and so we may adore the beings who partake of only some of the fulness of the Infinite. Quite in accordance with this spirit, a Hindu lecturer lately called the apostles of Christ "incarnations of God." A distinguished Unitarian has quoted his lecture with approval.¹

Could anything be more alien to the thought and history of Jesus than this dreamy and nerveless Pantheism ? The tolerance and kindliness which are its best features are derived from a doctrine

¹ Mr. Upton, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 364.

abhorrent to His mind, and this very doctrine is regarded by many Orientals as justifying deceitfulness and unchastity. Jesus was trained amid a race to which Monotheism had become a passion. The God whom He proclaims is one and personal. His moral teaching is more rigorous than that of Judaism, His theology not less austere. With the same word He pierces the consciences and provokes the desire of reconciliation with God. And yet He perpetually utters sayings which not only encourage the belief that He is the type which all humanity must imitate, but also induce men to believe that He is Himself the centre of all truth and power. He wishes men to know, not only that He enshrines all God's thought for man, but that His manhood enshrines the Godhead. The assertion of this is an integral part of His biography, and we cannot escape it unless we hold that the biography is a complete travesty of the life of Jesus. Like all great phenomena, it challenges our attention, and demands a consideration proportionate to its moral and intellectual interest. In three years Jesus was able to found the religion of the modern world in virtue of His unique personality. To believe Him is a more serious matter than to believe others who have promised light and guidance, for the reason that He professed to be divine. I will conclude with a quotation, not from a Christian Father or apologist, but from the late Professor Huxley: "What difference it makes whether one 'believes Jesus,' or 'believes in Jesus,'

much thought has not enabled me to discover. If you 'believe him,' you must believe him to be what he professed to be—that is, 'believe in him ;' and if you 'believe in him' you must necessarily 'believe him.'"¹

¹ *Science and Christian Tradition*, p. 285.

CHAPTER IV.

THE TRINITY AND UNITARIANISM.

I cannot be "brought to book" by any authority on earth for any word I utter, however wild and foolish it may be. I am no more amenable to a 'Unitarian Association' than I am to a presbytery or a general assembly, a lord bishop or a court of arches, a general council of Christendom or a pope.—DR. CROSSKEY (Unitarian), in *Religious Systems of the World* (Swan, Sonnenschein & Co., 1890), p. 378.

I.

IN part of Western Switzerland there sometimes blows a wind which is commonly known as the wind of Geneva, and is regarded as a sure sign of bad weather. The traveller who meets it may find in it a figure of the Puritan theology of which Geneva was once the centre. In almost every place where that theology has prevailed, a storm has, sooner or later, risen against the doctrines which Christ taught about Himself. Out of Puritanism came Unitarianism. The institutions of Unitarianism, one of their own prophets has said, inherited "the genius and traditions of the Genevan Reformation."¹ It would

¹ Dr. Martineau, *A Word for Scientific Theology* (Williams & Norgate, 1868), p. 5.

be true to add that, in some cases, they inherited its emoluments. Here and there, in busy English towns and quiet villages, stand the brick chapels where Presbyterian Puritans once worshipped, and where Presbyterian endowments sustain Unitarian services. "In the churches they built," said Dr. Crosskey, "we worship."¹ The same evolution took place in the Eastern States of America. Unitarianism for eighty years has flourished in the towns where Calvinistic Congregationalism originally dominated. Holland illustrates the same story. The Calvinism which was once so rigid has been enervated by rationalistic Unitarianism, until, as I am informed by the present Bishop of Capetown, it is sometimes necessary for Dutch congregations who desire orthodox pastors to procure them from South Africa. In the meanwhile Holland is being covered by large and crowded Róman Catholic churches which will afford a refuge for a banished faith in Jesus Christ. The Presbyterians of France have also deserted their first principles. Calvinistic doctrines have gradually lapsed into increasing negations, and the life of M. Athanase Coquerel the younger, one of the most eloquent French Protestants of this century, furnishes the inquirer with the spectacle of a struggle between two liberalisms, one of which was frankly sceptical, and the other played at being biblical. In Switzerland the Protestants have often dismantled their Christianity as

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 380.

effectually as they have dismantled their churches, and they enjoy the distinction of having recently suspended a minister for reciting the Apostles' Creed. Scotland remains the only European home of an orthodox Puritanism. Austere national temperament, and the keen controversies connected with Disestablishment, retarded the advent of problems which the recent imitations of Anglican worship partly conceal and may finally remove. The rule of worship tends sooner or later to become the rule of faith, and it is impossible not to suspect a change in the religious attitude when we find the chancel of the Presbyterian cathedral at Glasgow, and the sanctuary of a new Presbyterian church in Edinburgh, nearly as Anglican in appearance as could have been desired by Archbishop Sharp. Calvinism with a sculptured reredos is like Russian Orthodoxy without a painted eikon.

Unitarianism was the outcome of Puritanism, partly by evolution and partly by reaction. Let preachers declare that God capriciously saves men independently of their free will, and their successors will believe that men may be capricious in working out their own salvation. Let men keep God at a distance by denying that He uses material sacraments as effectual means of grace, and their children will find it easy to deny that the body of Jesus Christ was in any peculiar sense the tabernacle of God. Let men teach that God transferred to Christ the sins of the elect, and

their children will believe that the Atonement is a fiction, and that God does not require them to be partakers of Christ's human nature. The Calvinists retained and taught some noble elements of truth, and it is not for us to despise the merits of Baxter, and Rutherford and the "Shorter Catechism." But, Calvinism, as such, enlists the human conscience against itself. Let the pathetic words of Henry Ward Beecher bear witness. "My father's public teaching," he said, "may be called alleviated Calvinism. Even under that, the iron entered into my soul. There were days and weeks in which the pall of death over the universe could not have made it darker to my eyes than those in which I thought, 'If you are elected you will be saved, and if you are not elected you will be damned, and there is no hope for you.'"¹

This explains why the Unitarian protest against the doctrine of the Trinity overflowed with such bitterness and such vitality. In Unitarian eyes, especially in America, the doctrine of the Trinity was bound up inextricably with a Puritanism which was content to represent the Father as damning children white from the water of baptism, as pardoning men independently of their character, as caring for the few and hating the majority; a Father Whose love, even for the few, was the effect rather than the cause of the work of Christ. Many rebelled. They would not adore a God Whose worshippers represented Him as weaving

¹ *The Christian World Pulpit*, Nov. 13, 1882.

webs to catch and strangle them, allowing them no moral freedom, and treating them as "totally depraved"—a phrase which some modern Presbyterians interpret as meaning "depraved in every faculty," but which really meant "wholly inclined to all evil." So they repudiated most of the positive aspects of the popular theology, while they retained most of its negations. The result was Unitarianism. Christ, the Atonement, Salvation, Grace, assumed a new meaning in their dialect. The creeds, which they had never recited in their services, were omitted from their documents. The sacraments, which they had never been taught to value as points of contact with a living Saviour, fell quite naturally to the level of instructive emblems.

We may now briefly trace the history of Unitarianism during the last hundred years. Of the system which attracted many English Presbyterians at the beginning of the eighteenth century, we may say that it repudiated the doctrine of the Trinity in any genuine sense, and made Christ into the same super-angelic demigod as had been feigned by the Arians of the fourth century. Nothing sums up the controversy better than the apparently authentic anecdote about Dr. Clarke, an Arianizing Anglican who escaped ecclesiastical censure by an equivocal statement of his belief. It is said that Dr. Hawarden, a Roman Catholic, asked Clarke, in the presence of Queen Caroline, "Can God the Father annihilate the Son and the

Holy Ghost? Answer me, Yes or No." Dr. Clarke remained silent, and finally replied that it was a question which he had never considered. This Arian type of Unitarianism declined in England before the rise of Unitarianism as taught by Joseph Priestley, a "progressive Presbyterian." He taught that the doctrines of the Church were "corruptions of Christianity," and reduced Jesus to the position of an exalted prophet of supernatural powers and Messianic office. His book was criticized in 1783, the year following its publication, by Horsley, then Archdeacon of St. Alban's. Horsley continued the attack with the greatest energy, and, in spite of some blemishes in his own work, he was able to show that Priestley was neither enough of a scholar to translate the early Christian writers, nor enough of a philosopher to understand them.

In 1794 Priestley went to America and organized a church in Philadelphia, not before his views had been well impressed upon his English supporters. The United States, and the city of Boston in particular, furnished congenial soil for the new doctrines. There was a conspicuous tendency to Arianism, especially among the Congregationalists. Nominally Calvinists, many of this body affected to be "Liberal Christians," without severing themselves from their more orthodox brethren. The inevitable struggle came in 1815, and a few simple statistics tell the story. Of the 366 Unitarian congregations which existed in the States in 1882, at least 120 were descended from Puritan

predecessors, including the first church of the Pilgrim Fathers at Plymouth. I know of only one Anglican church which became Unitarian, though that church was the first Trinitarian church in America that changed its creed. It seceded before the arrival of Priestley in the States, and it worshipped in the dignified old Renaissance building still known as the King's Chapel, Boston.

Nothing could be more flattering than the success of the "Liberals." By 1823 they had the University of Harvard entirely in their own hands, their chapels were crowded with fashionable worshippers, and they were rapidly absorbing the men of intellectual and literary powers. And no one can wish to withhold his sympathy from those among them whose chief desire was to teach that God is beneficent, that Christ is imitable, and that our salvation involves a moral effort. But the "Liberals" had left Scylla for Charybdis. The older preachers who had protested against Calvinism held a modified Arianism, the younger inclined to a modified Socinianism. The older believed in a demigod, the younger in a miraculous and infallible prophet. Gradually the Arian view lost its power; something appealing better to "our own reason" was adopted instead.

The man who made the change comparatively easy was Dr. Channing, of Boston. His theology is marked by great simplicity, both on its destructive and its constructive side. It is an able appeal to common sense, clothed in a lofty and serious

diction. His arguments are barbed with sharp protests against Calvinism. He is eternally protesting, and is almost unable to think of Trinitarianism apart from Calvinism. He says that "Trinitarianism obscures God's mercy, by the manner in which it supposes pardon to be communicated." He denounces the theory of "total depravity," and rightly declares that to teach that God promises forgiveness to the reprobate on terms which their very constitution infallibly disposes them to reject, is to furnish excuses to the bad and to feed the pride of the fanatical. He believes most positively in the genuineness and the apostolic date of the New Testament. And the New Testament, he maintains, teaches Unitarianism. He declares concerning Unitarianism that "its doctrines are consistent with one another, and with all established truth." His views of Jesus have been represented as more Arian than anything else; but it would be fairer to say that they are Socinian, though the language in which they are expressed will often bear an Arian interpretation. He hurries over the passages in the New Testament which speak of the worship of Jesus, and in a great sermon on "Christian Worship" insinuates that his opponents honour the "underived divinity of Christ"—a doctrine never countenanced by the Church, though suggested by some statements of Calvin and the Calvinistic "Autotheans." Jesus is a miraculous being, peculiarly united to God "by accordance of mind." In this sense He is

the "Son of God." The power of God was "peculiarly delegated" to Him. The Holy Spirit is only an influence from God. "The direct influence of Trinitarianism is to materialize men's conceptions of God."¹

It may be safely asserted that if any man could have saved Socinianism, that man would have been William Channing. He was intellectual, eloquent, and devout, and his theology was both more rational than that of his contemporaries, and more religious than that of his successors. He had told his hearers to "go to Jesus," and he had said, "I believe him to be a more than human being." But his position was destined to fall before the assaults of a remorseless logic. And it fell level with the ground. The sound of the coming fray was heard when Emerson, in 1832, refused to administer the Lord's Supper in the usual manner. It grew louder in 1836, when Furness published his *Remarks on the Four Gospels*; and the struggle between the two parties began after the preaching of a sermon in Boston, May 19, 1841. The preacher was Theodore Parker, a keen philanthropist, with great powers of rhetorical poetry and invective, and considerable knowledge of German biblical criticism. With greater wit and greater coarseness than Channing, he denounced the popular theology of Calvinism. But while he agreed with Channing's negatives, he repudiated a large part of Channing's positive teaching. All miracles are

¹ Channing, *Works* (Glasgow, 1840), p. 347.

rejected, and his theory of the nature of God, if followed out, leads to complete Pantheism. For our present purpose his chief work was his criticism of the Unitarians who opposed him. After praising the intellectual and moral excellence of the old adherents of Unitarianism, he says, "I thought they lacked the deep internal piety which alone could make it lasting." He says that the leaders of the sect were "always trembling before the orthodox." The reason for their timid attitude is that their distinctive creed is "only a denial." They have made a new dogma and a new orthodoxy. They denied the Divinity of Jesus, but believed in "his miraculous birth and miraculous powers." Above all, they juggled in their interpretation of Scripture. They pretended that the New Testament was throughout Unitarian, when it was not. "If the Athanasian Creed," he said, "could be proved the work of an apostle, Unitarianism would deny it taught the doctrine of the Trinity."¹

This was brutally frank; but it was perfectly true. I have before me a copy of *The New Testament in an improved Version*, dated 1817. It was published by the "Unitarian Society for promoting Christian Knowledge," and it passed through several editions. No criticism of this Testament could be so unfavourable to it as an adequate list of quotations from it. It is carefully mistranslated

¹ Condensed from a statement in Parker's *Collected Works* (Trübner & Co., 1863), p. 315.

and adroitly annotated in order to support "true and uncorrupted Christianity"; in one word, Unitarianism. Does St. Paul say that Christ Jesus was "in the form of God"?—then the note explains that this means "invested with extraordinary Divine power." Does he say that "by Him all things were created"?—then the note says, "The creation which the apostle here ascribes to Christ, expresses that great change which was introduced into the moral world." Does St. John say that the Word "was in the beginning with God"?—then the note says this means that "before he entered upon his ministry he was fully instructed, by intercourse with God, in the nature and extent of his commission." Does St. John say that "the world was made by Him"?—then the translation replaces the word *made* by *enlightened*.

No wonder that Theodore Parker said that Unitarianism was "a sect, hide-bound, bridled with its creed." He tried to show the Unitarians that even in theology honesty is the best policy; but many were very slow to learn it.

After the Parker controversy it could no longer be a question of Arianism against Socinianism. Both lay under sentence of death. It only remained to be determined whether Jesus should be considered a perfect, or an imperfect man. An interesting phase of the quarrel appeared in 1865, when the Unitarians framed a constitution, in the preamble of which Jesus was called our "Lord and Master Jesus Christ." To many these words

carried "a suggestion of authority inimical to spiritual freedom." And the radical party, after a temporary defeat, asserted itself with such success that it now boasts that "before the century completes its round the pure humanity of Jesus will be as generally received among us as the unity of God." The phrase, "pure humanity," means that Jesus was peccable and imperfect, and it is one of the phrases under which modern Unitarians conceal a doctrine which is still unpopular wherever the name of Jesus is revered. Their Christianity now consists only of fragments of fragments. The new Unitarianism may therefore reasonably say that it is "less Christocentric" than the Unitarianism of sixty years since; and Mr. Chadwick, a prominent American Unitarian, asks very naturally, "Why, then, choose Christ to give our faith a name?" The answer he gives to his rhetorical question is, "We have not chosen him, but he has chosen us. We are in the line of his succession."¹ And yet the same writer thinks that to call Jesus "Lord and Master" carries "a suggestion of authority inimical to spiritual freedom."

In spite of its generous concessions to "our own reason," American Unitarianism does not appear to increase in proportion to the population. It is openly admitted that the classes which once thronged fashionable Unitarian chapels are now worshipping in Anglican churches. For the close of the nineteenth century, like the close of the

¹ *Old and New Unitarian Belief*, p. 136.

fourth, has witnessed the spectacle of religious Arians accepting the Nicene Creed rather than the doctrine of an erring Christ. The Unitarians find some compensation for their slow progress in the fact that many "orthodox" Dissenters are nearly Unitarian. "In my social contacts with orthodox ministers I tacitly assume that they believe just about the same as I do, and they do not often disappoint my expectation." So says Mr. Chadwick,¹ and we may imagine that their dishonesty affords him a rather imperfect satisfaction. In England, Unitarianism has also secured the co-operation of many Dissenters who are not consciously Unitarian, but have some vague and vast dislike of dogma. It has lost ground in certain quarters, but is working hard for a revival. It is in evidence at school-board elections, and active in its literary and missionary propaganda. It has developed an appreciation for Gothic architecture, and has even issued a Unitarian version of the *Te Deum*, a hymn expressly composed in honour of the Trinity and Incarnation.

The attitudes adopted towards the doctrines of the true *Te Deum* are somewhat various. Sometimes Trinitarian modes of speech and thought are recognized as valuable. But the real doctrine of the Trinity, which implies that the Son and the Spirit are to be adored as personalities distinct from the Father, is most vehemently rejected. It is not even accurately represented. Professor

¹ *Old and New Unitarian Belief*, pp. 221, 222.

Upton, the author of the Hibbert Lectures for 1893, objects to the "Trinitarian dogma" on the ground that it "is philosophically false in excluding from participation in the Divine Substance all human beings save one."¹ The accusation is almost unintelligible. Believers in the Trinity, from St. Peter and St. Athanasius downwards, have taught the contrary.²

Mr. Chadwick says it took six centuries to establish the doctrine of the Trinity,³ and he claims that St. John's Gospel, the authenticity of which he denies, is "still Unitarian." He does so on the ground that the prologue of the Gospel expresses "the idea of the independent personality and subordination of the Logos." If Mr. Chadwick were familiar with the Fathers of the Church he would have hesitated to write these words. In the eyes of men like Athanasius, to deny that the personality of the Logos was distinct from the personality of the Father, would have been a mark

¹ *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 141.

² 2 St. Pet. i. 4. St. Thomas Aquinas, the greatest theologian of the Middle Ages, says, "The gift of Grace exceedeth every faculty of created nature, since it is nothing else than a certain participation of the Divine Nature, which exceedeth all other natures," and he compares this gift to the kindling of fire by fire (2. 1. quest. 112, art. 1). When Dr. Pusey was charged with Pantheism for teaching the doctrine of St. Peter, St. Thomas, and St. Bonaventura, he replied, "Such union alone with God would be Pantheistic, according to which it should be assumed that 'the soul ceases to be in that being which it had before after its own kind, and is converted into, or transfigured and absorbed into the Divine Being and Essence.'" *Parochial Sermons* (Parker, 1852), p. xxi.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 60.

of Sabellian heresy. To deny that there was an internal subordination within the divine substance would have been also considered Sabellian. This subordination is not only taught by Athanasius, but even taught in his orations against the Arians, where the Father and the Logos are compared to the Light and its Radiance.

It is not astonishing that, with such imperfect acquaintance of St. Athanasius, Professor Upton and his friends should denounce what he calls "the full-blown doctrine of the Athanasian Trinity" as a "figment of the speculative imagination."¹ We cannot blame them for failing to find credentials for their own misconceptions of orthodox doctrine. And even if they are not aware that there is hardly a statement in the Athanasian Creed which cannot be closely matched with statements in the Christian writers of the first three centuries, they cannot fail to know that intelligent Unitarians now generally regard the New Testament as very unfavourable to their own conception of Jesus. Sixty years since they were Unitarian because they claimed to be "intensely Scriptural." That was the position taken up by Dr. Martineau in his brilliant lectures at Liverpool in 1839. Now they are Unitarian in spite of Scripture. They appeal to the rational and the spiritual consciousness of their hearers, starting with the assumption that the orthodox doctrine of the Incarnation is impossible, and that the Trinity is therefore a "figment." Both the orthodox and

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 135.

the Unitarians accept the statement of Mr. Herbert Spencer, that the Ultimate Force in nature cannot be lower than a personality ; and both are happily agreed in worshipping a Father who resembles Christ. But the orthodox, unlike the Unitarians, believe that the " Rational Religion of Jesus " was never rational in the sense of excluding " Dogmatic Religion." They believe that the recorded teaching of Jesus concerning the Father, the Son, and the Spirit is the necessary complement of His recorded works. They believe that the pure in heart still find in their rational and moral self-consciousness the same revelation of the Trinity as that known by St. Paul and St. John. And as they discover complexity of mental functions increasing in the higher scales of being, their reason is not repelled by the more developed complexity of life which Christ has taught them to seek in the supreme Existence. For it is only on the improbable assumption that human psychology is as complex as the divine Spirit that we can find anything irrational in the doctrine that there are three personal forms of divine self-consciousness behind the expressions of that self-consciousness in the universe.

II.

An eternal God must have eternal life, and an eternal, self-determining will. If God thinks, He must realize His thought. If He loves, He must express His love. If He wills, He must manifest

His will. Now the energy and expression of a living being are proportionate to the inward power of that being. We may write an essay or we may row a boat, and we say, "I have done the best that I could. Here I could not reason clearly; there I was hindered by a sudden physical weariness: but whatever I have done has been proportionate to the sum of causes within me, be those causes opposing or co-operating. I have produced a result." Is God to be unproductive? Is that perfect life to issue forth in no new and other life? It is impossible. God, if there be a God at all, must be infinitely active; and this activity must reproduce itself. In what does it reproduce itself? In the life of the created universe, we all admit. God is the life within the universe. God is not like the clock-maker, who has made the clock, and now intervenes to stop the hands or wind the clock. He dwells in nature as truly as the soul dwells in the body, though this analogy is not complete. He is immanent in the world. He is distinct from the world, as being its Maker and Governor; but He acts on and through it in every part. In every pulsation of light, and sound, and movement He is present.

But the universe is not the only medium of God's revelation. He transcends nature. He has a higher method of self-expression. The laws of nature declare God's power and the harmonious beauty of His life. But if He does not transcend these laws, then all that is personal and moral in

us hangs in the air meaningless. These qualities demand that God shall be something more. He cannot be entirely committed to an order of existence in which love and righteousness are necessarily unknown.¹ In that order of existence God is so limited that, if this were the sole expression of God, we should be obliged to deny that any genuine God exists. He would not be self-conscious. But God has expressed Himself in human nature. He has disseminated and delegated to man powers to be used in the spiritual life. The moral and spiritual faculties, which form too important a phenomenon in everyday life to be ignored or denied, have an explanation. They are the self-expression of a God who is eternal, righteous, and free. "We are His offspring." We are endowed with capacities similar to the capacities of a living God, Who here acts in a region which transcends the region of the life immanent in nature.

And though God manifests Himself in our best faculties, these faculties themselves demand that God's personality should be held to be distinct from ours. They repudiate a Pantheism which merges man into God; and the Hindu people, which has so long accepted this Pantheism, is the people which illustrates our doctrine by its conspicuous indifference to truthfulness and purity. We are not passive vessels filled with God, nor are

¹ For much of this argument I am gratefully indebted to Dr. Martineau. See especially his *Study of Religion*, vol. ii. pp. 178-180.

the moral commands which echo in our souls mere waves of a life which is confined to man and nature. A mind that never reasons, a will that rejects no allurements, a heart that squanders itself, are not manifestations of the supreme Moral Being. They imply that we are distinct from God. And no inspiration in our souls is so overpowering and absorbing that the personality and responsibility of our own self is annihilated. We are lights that a divine Light has kindled. That divine Light remains intact and undiminished. But the mere fact that we can refuse to be fellow-workers with God, and that our knowledge is not infallible nor our duty perfectly performed, suggests that though God has expressed Himself in each man and in the human race, such expression is only partial. God's action has not free play in us, and therefore we believe that the inner nature of God has a manifestation which is neither the universe nor conscience.

Here our difference from even the best and highest Unitarian thought becomes precise. If the Father is perfect self-conscious life, He must have perfectly expressed Himself. There must be a sphere where the eternal thought, and will, and love have been eternally unchecked. An exhaustive account of what we can know of God is not given when we have spoken of His external effects. The teaching of Jesus and the searchings of our mind bear witness that nature and ourselves are not sufficient scope for God. There must be within the

Godhead a revelation of the Father and relations which make it possible for Him to have eternally lived that moral life to which He educates mankind. And whatever else the Catholic doctrine implies, it unquestionably means that the divine self-consciousness contains the prototypes of the spirit of fatherhood and sonship and society. So certain is the truth that underlies the doctrine, that whereas the coarser Unitarianism tends to make a chasm between God and the world, the more philosophic type labours to escape from the appearance of introducing an infinitude of lonely ages into the Father's life. This is done by suggesting that the world or space is co-eternal with God. But such a line of thought really requires an admission that the world or space is co-equal with God, otherwise an eternally perfect and self-conscious Being found sufficient scope for Himself in a sphere which was not moral.

The doctrine of the Trinity avoids this difficulty. It reminds us that the best elements in our religion are rooted in God's own life, that the Father eternally exercised those sympathies by which He now permits us to lay our cares upon Him. Filial submission to a Father's consoling sovereignty, and united personal devotion to a personal object who answers love with love, are not to be confined to the fibre of our highest self. They dwell within the Holy Trinity. God did not enter upon a more perfect stage of being when He created man. He is self-contained ; His life,

mental or moral, is at unity with itself and sufficient for itself. But the human soul, though it has neither the unity nor the complexity of God, bears the lineaments of the divine nature according to which it was created. The soul is morally predisposed to welcome in history a self-revelation of God which implies personal distinctions in God. The doctrine of the Trinity is therefore both rational and religious, and the Christian may believe, with mind no less than heart, that the revelation of this doctrine is not "a figment of the speculative imagination," but a disclosure of realities as they are.

Christianity believes that the second Person of this Trinity took a human body and soul. It regards it as reasonable that He who co-operated with the Father in the creation of the world should co-operate in its new creation. It regards it as reasonable that He who from eternity derives His nature from the Father, and is in the bosom of the Father, should teach man the dignity of consciously deriving all his strength from this Father, and finding freedom of life in the service of God. It cannot be denied that this doctrine of incarnate Deity answers an aspiration which has been widely felt. Many religions have reached an anthropomorphic stage, and have hoped that the divine and human natures are not incompatible. Many believed that after death an apotheosis awaited the wise and the triumphant. Many believed that the gods could appear among men

as men. Dangers certainly beset the theory. The gods were endowed with like passions with ourselves, and round the fair Hellenic deities gathered old myths that dated from a savage epoch. Anthropomorphism sometimes crystallized coarseness and bestiality. And yet we cannot simply blame a tendency of thought which erected the victorious Apollo Belvedere and the Artemis of Euripides.

So deeply rooted is this tendency that it is felt even in religions which are based upon a contradictory dogma. Nothing could be more rigid than the Moslem idea that God is one Person without associates. Yet Moslem heretics have glided into theories which come near an incarnation; and the Persians who believe that a ray of Deity was given to Muhammad, and then descended to his true successors, form a large element in Islam. The original Buddhism taught no incarnation except the new incarnation which will receive the resultant character of each man who does not reach Nirvâna. But all Northern Buddhism now accepts the theory that the Buddhas who appear on earth are the images of celestial Buddhas, and they further believe in "living Buddhas," who are continual incarnations which come from heaven that the world may never be left without some visible and supreme directors.

These theories may seem fanciful enough, but they are not without a pathos and a moral significance. They make antipathy to God appear unnatural. They express in some crude fashion the

wish to behold God and to know His will. And this has been the result of the Christian doctrine. It has caused fulfilment of the Divine commandments to be the exercise of love.

So significant is this doctrine for the students of moral philosophy, that we are surprised to find that Unitarians and "Theists" sometimes deny it this significance. But their mutual repudiation of one another's views is of considerable aid to any orthodox apologist. Their views may be thus described :—

Firstly, there is the view which was expressed by Channing with his accustomed vigour. In his eyes the doctrine of the Incarnation debases the idea of God. It materializes men's conception of God. The doctrine of a God clothed with a body reminds us, he says, of the mythology of the rudest pagans. It is the foe of the truth that "God is a Spirit." This argument still survives in the discourses of Mr. Voysey. Mr. Voysey says that the doctrine of the Incarnation "infinitely degraded the conception of God as He is." And, again, he says, "If we rightly understand the distinction between God and man, we see at once that an Incarnation, if it occurred, deliberately put God farther away, and clothed Him, so to speak, within a material barrier." This antiquated argument comes with a very hollow sound from the lips of a writer who, when weary of criticizing his own misconceptions of the New Testament, begins to assure us that "the Voice of God" is within us, and culminates in "human love."

But this theory is only produced for controversial purposes. It was retained with feeble grasp when Theodore Parker represented that the deification of Jesus was natural, and the Incarnation a "sacrament." It was dropped when John Hamilton Thom said that "we have in Christ the Life of God unfolded, so far as here it can be unfolded, within the Nature of Man." And now that the theory has been thrown upon the dust-heap, it is in process of being buried. The ablest English Unitarians are declaring that the doctrine of the Incarnation, which of course carries with it the doctrine of the Trinity, has impressed upon men truths of the highest philosophic importance. Dr. Martineau is not the only Unitarian who has taught this. But as his books are widely read beyond the Unitarian pale, his words have the first claim to be quoted.

Dr. Martineau's theory with regard to the doctrine of the Incarnation amounts to saying that it has hitherto been an incalculable good. He repudiates the Johannine authorship of the fourth Gospel, but renders this testimony to the moral worth of the doctrine it contains. "The unexampled spectacle of such 'grace and truth,' of heavenly sanctity pervading all human experience, startles and wins hearts that never were so won before, and wakes in them a capacity for that which they reverence in another."¹ Mr. Voysey calls this book of Dr. Martineau's—*The Seat of*

¹ *Seat of Authority in Religion*, p. 449.

Authority in Religion—a “great work.” But Mr. Voysey, so far from agreeing with Dr. Martineau, calls the fourth Gospel “bad fiction—bad because done for a bad purpose.”¹ Such a description of the most beautiful book in the world makes us question whether Theism is “the religion of common sense”—at any rate, Theism as preached by Mr. Voysey.

Nor has Dr. Martineau diluted his appreciation of the doctrine. In the *Nineteenth Century* for April, 1895, he has criticized Mr. Balfour's *rationale* of the Incarnation. He writes that there is “a profound truth involved in this estimate of the belief in the Incarnation. It has determined, in the right direction, the long-trembling balance between two competing ideals of the divine nature—identified, in the one case, with the fearful aggregate of predetermining cosmic forces, and, in the other, with the wisdom of an Infinite Mind, partly committed to a steadfast order, but amply free to pity and to love. Has, then, the living God manifested Himself in the Son of Mary? Then we are not lashed to the wheel of necessity, but in the hands of One Who ‘has compassion on the multitudes,’ Who has not ordained temptation and sorrow and death without knowing what they are, and how they may be sanctified. Is this, then—this ‘stricken of God and afflicted’—‘His Son’? Then we, too, are His sons, for this is our ‘elder Brother.’”

¹ *The Sling and the Stone*, vol. x. p. 246.

Dr. Martineau's statement is not only well put ; it is the honest repudiation of old Unitarianism which declared that Unitarianism was most favourable to piety because it approached God "under no bodily form, but as a pure Spirit." And the same repudiation is to be found in Dr. Drummond's Hibbert Lectures. He says that Christ "has become the beloved Saviour and Comforter of souls which are conscious of sin, because this supreme Word of God to man has become flesh in him, and been manifested in the joys and sorrows, the struggles, the suffering, and the triumph of a human life."¹

The doctrine of the Incarnation has morally vindicated itself. That it met some anticipations of the human heart in its undeveloped hopes is plain. That it answers some noble aspirations in those who still reject it is evident. It has thrown a new light on the Fatherhood of God. No one who has once grown the least familiar with the Fatherhood of God, as presented in the New Testament, can ever believe Him to be a summary of the immanent laws of nature, any more than he can believe God to be a tribal deity. God is to him not merely the Father of his race, as the devout Jew conceived Him to be ; He is the Father Whose own love and peace and perfection enter into each believer's soul. And the Incarnation has thrown a new light on the destiny of men. It is that they may be increasingly "partakers of the

¹ Page 313.

divine nature." The Incarnation was more than a theophany. God dwelt and dwells in one perfect manhood, that He may find a home in all. The Word was made flesh that we might be born of God. Christ is to be "the first born among many brethren," for to us sinners also may be given some of the glory of hidden Deity. We were born His offspring, as St. Paul declared, but we are prodigals who must be born again. And the life of sonship has been perpetuated by a sense of the "fellowship of the Holy Ghost." A belief in the Holy Ghost has always been a sign of a Christian who holds his ground. The first Christians were deeply conscious of a Power that came to dwell within them and guided mind and heart, Who revealed their weakness and removed it. They believed that He perpetuated the life of Jesus in them, and knew that the Giver of this life must Himself be Lord. They had warrant for their conviction in the statement of their Master. Their experience has been repeated. To them He came as a fire, kindling and not diminished. He has come not less truly to others as

A whisper from the dawn of life, a breath,
From some fair dawn beyond the doors of death.

In conclusion, I will quote the words of a Unitarian who writes with thoughtful reverence of the doctrine of the Trinity. "We must," says Dr. Drummond, "observe that there were certain elements in Christian experience which, when

taken up and interpreted by Greek philosophy, necessarily resulted in this doctrine; and though we may believe that the form and the terminology of the doctrine were derived from a foreign source, we may nevertheless admit the reality of fundamental Christian facts which imparted to it all its religious vitality."¹ That is all that the Church contends for. But the Church has always believed that what is a necessity of spiritual thought is a spiritual truth.

In defence of the variations of Unitarianism it might be urged that where there is evolution there is life, and that the discord of the three systems taught by Unitarians within this century—Arian, Socinian, and Humanitarian—are only parts of the harmony of progress. That, in spite of other retrogressions, some such progress has been made it is impossible to dispute. It has consisted in a growing perception that in some sense the Father is not solitary, and that the idea of an Incarnation is not materialistic. If this progress had not been accompanied by a too hasty assumption that few doctrines which have been widely accepted are likely to be true, Unitarianism would now have ceased to exist. For the higher type of Unitarianism is close to that idea of God which regards the doctrine of the Trinity as an explanation of His life, and regards the Incarnation as God's expedient, but an expedient consonant with the very natures of God and of man.

¹ *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 203.

CHAPTER V.

SIN AND ATONEMENT.

L'homme n'a qu'à pleurer pour retrouver son père.
Le malheur lui dit : Crois. La mort lui crie : Espère !
Qu'il se repente, il tient la clef d'un sort meilleur.
Dieu lui remplace, après l'épreuve et la douleur,
La paradis des fleurs par l'éden des étoiles.

VICTOR HUGO, *Dieu*.

I.

NOVALIS said that he who understands sin, understands virtue and Christianity, understands himself and the world. But each moral and intelligent person desires to know how far this or that particular system aids him to perform this or that good action, or course of actions. He assumes that evil is a disorder that demands both an explanation and a remedy. He desires to know why certain actions are called bad, and what is the principle within him which is at the root of the distinction between good and evil. And so important has attention to this principle proved in all systems of religion and morality, that we may fairly divide the various systems according to their account of the genesis of sin. In spite

of this, we must bear in mind that the divisions are not always mutually exclusive.

The first of these theories is that which underlies a large part of Oriental thought. It is that virtue is chiefly intellectual, that sin is principally ignorance, and is due to a permanent weakness in our own sensuous nature. The extreme form of this doctrine is that held by orthodox Brahmanism, and rigorously maintained by the modern reforming Hindu societies, such as the Brahmo Samaj. Brahmanism, in spite of an exoteric teaching which allows the vulgar to believe that sin largely consists in the omission of hard and trivial ritual details, has an ideal in which these details have no place whatever. It holds out as "deliverance" an entire escape from action into the apathy of the characterless Brahma. This apathy involves a freedom from all recognition of any idea of sin or virtue. The very thought that there can be anything evil is a fault due to ignorance. The *Kaushîtaki Upanishad* says that when the *yogi* has once attained true apathy, "by no deed of his is his life harmed, not by the murder of his mother, not by the murder of his father, not by theft, not by the killing of a Brahman. If he is going to commit a sin, the bloom does not depart from his face."¹ This is tantamount to saying that men naturally believe sin to be a serious fact; but when they arrive at central truth, they know that sin and goodness are both illusions. It is an integral

¹ *Upanishads*, Sacred Books of the East, vol. i. pp. 293, 294.

part of Brahman philosophy to hold that "the wise never praises the good, nor does he hate the bad. Equal in happiness and misery, he thinks himself above duty." He is one with Brahma. He needs nothing more than the attainment of this unity. The violence which such a theory does to all moral aspirations is well illustrated by the recent admission of an ardent member of the Brahmo Samaj, by name Babu Sitanath Datta. In contrasting the religions of Krishna and Christ he magnified the Pantheist doctrines of the *Gîtâ* at the expense of the Gospel, but honestly declared that the teaching of Jesus "will move the generality of men far more than any philosophical doctrine of the essential unity of God and man." He here accurately appraised the moral value of Hinduism, but he might have added more. For the Pantheist doctrine of realization of identity with Brahma abolishes all moral relations between God and the soul, and finds its reaction in the "sectarian" Hindu systems, with their enthusiastic devotion to a particular deity and the absurd superstitions of his worship.

Sin, and the idea that sin exists, are held to be the result of certain defects which smother the human mind whenever a man engages in an active life. In this opinion, and the opposition which it consequently wages against social relationship and duty, Brahmanism is imitated by Buddhism. The genuine Buddhist system denounces ignorance in much the same strain as Brahmanism, and also,

in the doctrine of Nirvâna, represents the highest good attainable on earth as a condition in which the individual soul has cut itself free from activity and duty. To be rid of illusion is to be converted, and the illusion consists in supposing that we must attach a permanent value to our surroundings and our intercourse with those surroundings. On the other hand, Buddhism contains far more than a denunciation of material life and of intellectual ignorance. The chief objects of its denunciation are the "three fires" of lust, ill will, and stupidity, which are called in a peculiar sense "the obstacles," because they hinder all entrance into the sinless calm. But these and other sins might be cured, rather than irritated, by wholesome contact with the existence which the Buddhist saint is forbidden to cherish and finally to touch.

Something closely akin to Indian speculation was to be found in the Gnostic societies which beset the life of the early Christian Church. They seem to have overlooked the fact that anger, pride, untruthfulness, and many sins which are conquered only in the final victories of goodness, are very little connected with our material powers and desires. The practical result of their doctrine was altogether Indian, for it led to wild asceticism or a wilder license. There are also similarities between Brahmanism and Neo-Platonism, though the higher forms of Neo-Platonism only contained the moral defects of Brahmanism in a very refined shape. Plotinus repudiated the teaching of some of the

Stoics, a teaching with parallels in Buddhist literature, that freedom from matter can be won by suicide. He insisted that evil does not consist in having a material body but in dependence upon matter, a dependence which would leave its result on a soul even after death. At the same time he regarded vice as involuntary ; it is the slumber of a man who is using his body while his intelligence refuses to interfere. In true Oriental fashion he placed blessedness in apathetic contemplation, and not in conduct. When he says, "We ought to aim, not at being without sin, but at being God," we might almost fancy we were listening to an Indian pandit.

At the opposite pole to the Buddhist theory of ethics stand those biological views which have recently become popular in Europe. They are an amalgam of the theory of evolution with the theory that the good which men seek can be explained as pleasure or happiness. It is much to be regretted that some important writers, who have desired to emphasize the connection between biology and ethics, have employed language of a distinctly Hedonist type. To use the words "pleasurable feeling," as equivalent to happiness, and to represent both pessimists and optimists as agreeing that "life is good or bad, according as it does, or does not, bring a surplus of agreeable feeling," is to show an unnecessary recoil from purely ethical phraseology. It is the language which avowed Hedonism would find most natural

to employ. But without laying further stress upon this point, we may remark that it is language which is meant to correspond with a particular opinion concerning man's principle of moral obligation or sense of duty. According to Mr. Spencer, this principle within us is an instinct acquired by experience, changed during evolution, and transmitted by heredity. Certain experiences of the kind of conduct which is conducive to life have produced modifications in the nerves, and these produce emotions which condemn the wrong action and approve the right. This theory would reduce sin to the result of a deranged nervous system, and apparently nothing more. We must, therefore, inquire whether the facts of moral experience and biology compel us to accept such a theory.

In the first place, there is a serious differentiation between the highest animals and man. Man is less animal ; he is further removed from a thing of sensations and impulses. The sentiments with which he witnesses evil in others, when he has attained any real ethical character, or the sentiments with which he recollects evil in himself, are such as he can very clearly distinguish from any sensation of physical pain. His consciousness of right does seek for happiness, and yet it only seeks for happiness as attendant upon goodness. The same road may be the road of both happiness and duty ; yet there may come a crisis when the road to duty and the road to happiness diverge.

This divergence would, in some sense, be admitted by all moralists. The question is whether the choice made at this point is not more than the result of a combination of inherited habits. No one disputes that heredity has great influence upon character, though it may be disputed whether the characteristics which are acquired by distinct generations are transmitted to their descendants. Christianity has always assumed the importance of heredity in its doctrine of "original sin." But heredity does not appear to produce an indestructible association of ideas sufficient to determine our actions and make us organically moral. Even in animals there have been observed instances of reasoning power and will which show that a new environment, and the power of corresponding actively with it, may do much towards effacing the influence of heredity. The life of such creatures becomes less purely instinctive than that of the lower animals. And the more a man acts intelligently, the less he acts by instinct. He cuts down the part which instinct plays in the drama of his life. Then why should not the moral instinct be subject to the same law? If it be right to use of the sentiment that stealing is wrong the same language that we might apply to a mother's impulse to nourish her own infant, we should at least expect that a violation of the one would be attended by the same feelings as attend the violation of the other. But the man who steals, experiences remorse, if he be in any sense moral ;

while the mother who entrusts her child to a nurse healthier than herself, knows that she has done right. The reason is that both actions have passed outside the range of instinct. They depend upon a conscious will, and the edifice of their morality must be considered apart from any materials of which it is constructed.¹

The will, combining thought and desire, uses the physical materials of the brain for a moral end. The will is conscious of a motive, whether the motive be the desire of promoting the good of society, or of self, or of child. The resultant action then ceases to be instinctive. It is guided by a conception. This "adjustment of acts to ends" implies that our will is able either to further or to counteract our inherited instincts. And this is shown by the facts of crime and sin as much as by the facts of morality. There is a class of offenders who live "like brute beasts." Born with tendencies in a state of "unstable" or "neutral" equilibrium they may be, though it is often probable that they were born with tendencies that could have aided their moral development; but they have lost control over themselves, and, before committing wrong, are very little conscious of an end in view. They get a minimum of pleasure out of their excesses. And we condemn them, not for what they have inherited, but for the misuse of will-power by which they have reduced themselves to creatures

¹ For much of this argument I am indebted to Guyau, *La Morale Anglaise Contemporaine*.

of instinct. And the offender of the other class takes his pleasures one by one ; he reflects, and calculates, and acknowledges that he is responsible. Degraded as his idea of personal good may be, he determines his actions by the conception of good as consisting in the satisfaction of a particular want. His will, like the will of the good man, moves towards the realization of an idea.

To sum up. We cannot deny that the supposed biological view of duty does make a real appeal to the will through the imagination. It holds before our minds the ideal of an existence in which good is done, and done habitually. But the possibility of its realization is unduly diminished by the failure to deal adequately with the individual's separate acts. The opinion is encouraged that a sin happens, not that it is committed. And this theory chimes in with the new literary pessimism, which professes to be "natural" and "real," while it paints a life which is abnormal in its brutal hideousness, and characters which are hurled into vice by inherited degeneracy. Pathological novelists are whispering to the heart what biological moralists are suggesting to the mind.

Truer and more complete was the method of Aristotle and Plato. They did not merely recognize that goodness is a common medium between members of the human race, and that violation of righteousness is destructive of the end for which society exists ; they also perceived the character of unrighteousness in the individual with such

clearness as was possible to eyes before which the heavens had not yet been opened. Plato sometimes seems uncertain about the number of the gods and the infection caused by matter. He also makes the connexion between virtue and knowledge too close. Nevertheless he teaches that man is responsible for his sin, and that sin is the result of choice. He recognizes the effect of heredity, while he does not allow the force of instinct, any more than the will of a deity, to be invoked to mystify the reality of guilt. Above all, he points to a truly moral sanction for righteousness. While acknowledging that a recompense awaits the just in the unseen world, and upholding the sanctions of the State, he nevertheless traces the universal obligation of goodness to the actual constitution of moral human nature.

That much failure should always attend this teaching was inevitable. It was necessary that the psychological sanction of goodness should be supplemented by the religious sanction, that God should be interpreted by what is most pure and majestic in humanity, and that the dormant sense of man's relation to right and wrong should be awakened by the revelation of God's living Image.

It is the consciousness of this revelation which gives an unrivalled moral power to the pages of the New Testament. The language is unskilled and the arguments are abrupt; but from first to last the writers are aglow with the knowledge of a new ideal. They never give a full definition of sin; but

part of its true nature is exposed by the conception of St. John, that "sin is lawlessness." It breaks the law of God, and therefore the Christian's conception of sin depends upon his conception of God. To the uneducated mind sin generally appears to be a form of pleasure which offends against an envious and capricious decree of an absent Governor, who is separated from us as completely as one man is separated from another, but will return to inflict an external revenge. To the man trained in the school of Christ sin will appear something very different. He recognizes all sin to be a form of suicide. He has been taught to know that "God dwelleth in him," and that "in Him we live and move and have our being." God's laws are consequently the laws of our own nature, holding the body and the soul together, and making the body a means to the life of the soul. These laws can be violated, and yet their authority proves, at the last resort, inviolable, for any violation brings an immediate punishment upon the offender's character. To ignore the existence of our spirit in which God reveals Himself, or to act as if the spirit were unaffected by the adventures of the body, is criminal, because it is unnatural.

But the Christian conceives sin to be not only unnatural, but also heartless. If God were nothing more than a force, immanent in our constitution, and not personal and self-conscious, the intellect would be under a very strong temptation to calculate how much sin might be committed with

comparative impunity. But if God be of such a nature that we can best describe Him by the name of Father ; if He can guide and hear and welcome ; if, in a word, it be true that "God is love," and that man was made "in His image ;"—then this spirit of calculation is extirpated. The heart does not pause to moderate its sacrifices. And, in accordance with this fact, we find St. John tells us how Jesus gave, not the name of slaves, though many were glad to bear that name, but the name of "friends" to those who do what He commands. To abandon one's self to a personal devotion to God is to hear His inward word, and to divine the intentions of His mind. To confound this devotion with a mere agitation of religious sensibility would be in plainest contradiction to St. John's meaning. It is the outcome of "doing the truth," and of a faith able to overcome the world.

This double conception of St. John, that sin is a violation both of law and of love, is illuminated by his doctrine of life. With a sublime monotony the discourses which he records are perpetually contrasting truth, light, and life with falsehood, darkness, and death. The purpose of the Incarnation is that the believer should have life. He that believes has life, eternal life. By this it is not meant that an act of faith in Christ is rewarded by the promise of a happiness in the world to come which can never be forfeited by subsequent sin. On the contrary, the knowledge of God and of Jesus Christ is eternal life here and now to all who

possess it. It is quite possible for a "brother," one who has been incorporated into the Society of "the sons of God," to be guilty of a sin which is "unto death," and to break with eternal life. But while his eyes are fixed on the realm of divine life seen in Jesus he "shall never taste of death." Death of the body no more interrupts his infinite life, with its infinite opportunities, than the divine life of the Son of God was broken by His entrance into the story of human sorrow, or His return to the Father's home. This life is received from Christ, Who has it "in Himself." It is His touch which calls man's highest motives into being, and causes the will to tingle with a devotion to the truth. He bestows the joy of a vitality which no human influence can ever lower, and a peace which cannot be given by a "world" whose name is a symbol for all organized defilement and selfish gratification.

The New Testament, while declaring that sin is a violation of law and love and life, assumes throughout that it is a misuse of the will. Sin is undoubtedly regarded as a mistake, and the word for repentance is "change of mind." But the real home of sin is not in thought, but in thought as combined with desire. Sin is selfishness. And so we observe that the "knowledge" which Christianity primarily requires is the trustful recognition of God's Fatherhood as manifested in Him Who is the firstborn among many brethren. This recognition is impossible except in the case of the man who has a desire of attaining the ideal of his

own life. Such a man is likely to perceive that he can only attain it as a child of God and as identified with Christ. His will is then a Christian will. His sin will consist in thwarting his own ideal. The doctrine that "sin is the sense of imperfection,"¹ or the consciousness of an interval between natural inclination and virtuous performance, is, from the New Testament point of view, immoral and absurd. If such a doctrine were true, a man progressing in goodness would be more sinful every day, for all his progress is accompanied by a keener sense of his distance from ideal conduct. On the contrary, the consent of those who raise the average of happiness and virtue proclaims that sin is not the sense of imperfection, nor is it even imperfection and failure, but it is a deliberate contradiction of known standards. Language in every nation assumes that there is such a thing as knowing right to be right, and yet choosing to do wrong. There is within the soul an inner warfare to which Plato, Xenophon, and Seneca give witness with Pauline fervour. Sin is what it is, because it is a choice and a struggle against good, or a nerveless self-surrender due to many previous acts of choice.

The higher the standard of right, the more exact is the knowledge of sin. All believers in one conscious God find the ultimate standard of right in God. It may be objected that there is a vagueness and obscurity in describing sin as a wrong against

¹ Mr. Alexander, *Moral Order and Progress*, p. 405.

God. In the eyes of a Christian the vagueness does not exist. His ultimate standard is God as revealed in Christ; the conception of God is both higher and nearer than hitherto, and, in consequence, sin is perceived both to involve a more serious responsibility, and to be more easily overcome. All the former inducements to overcome sin remain, and are comprehended in the Christian system. Sin is still recognized as a violation of instinctive promptings to affection and generosity. It is still regarded as imprudent and irrational, destructive of social life, and unworthy of the citizen. It is still known to be an opposition to the most solemn of authorities and the most absolute of all personal claims. But it is also seen to be the repudiation of the most inspiring of all motives, the character of God. His Fatherhood enlists the heart upon the side of goodness, makes hopelessness impossible, and gives the surest basis for the rights of man.

To gain the faculties and privileges of children of God is such a newness of life that it implies a transformation of human nature. And this is what is desired by the man awakened to a knowledge of himself. Children, and men at an imperfect stage of thought, are right in their desire to make amends for this or that wrong with which their conscience reproaches them. In their wish for peace with God notable sinners have been ready to give even the fruit of their body for the sin of their soul, or to recompense God with something which will carry

forward the cause which they have hindered. Thus the Saxon monarch Oswy gave land for a convent that it might be an expiation for the murder of his saintly kinsman, and rough Crusaders tried to turn their swords into instruments of salvation. But an adequate sense of sin causes the offender to realize that neither what he does nor what he suffers can repair the evil he has done. The boy who has acknowledged his guilt and been punished by his father, feels that the single wrong action has left no trace when he has taken his punishment with patience. But a man is dissatisfied, not merely with single actions, but with himself. He is convinced that single deeds of crime or folly are not wiped out entirely by single acts of generosity or virtue. The increase of suicide during the last few years appears to be a token that the increase of education has developed this conviction. For self-murder is not always due to the pressure of external miseries. It is sometimes caused by the remorse of a soul which believes that a moral recovery is now beyond its reach. Sin is realized as the outcome of selfishness; the offender is awake to the fact that his self is bad. In all his antagonism to goodness he has consciously asserted a united determination to oppose certain moral experiences of his own. He is at war with himself, he has identified himself with a lower will, which has corroded the better will above it. There is "no health" in him, and no hope.

II.

Christianity meets this awakened conscience. In the first place, it offers hope to those overpowered by the sense of misery and sin with an optimism which detects and prizes the latent good within the sinner, and brings him a message of joy concerning a moral recovery and a good which is to be attained here and now, and not indefinitely postponed. In the second place, it does not insult the sinner's sense of dissatisfaction by glosing over or ignoring the extent of the evil which he has committed. It recognizes the difference between what he is and what he ought to be with all the seriousness of a determined pessimism, and yet overreaches this pessimism with the promise of a triumph which is based upon the character of God and the union of man's nature with the divine. Part of the atoning and reconciling work of Christ consisted in the unique clearness and resolution with which He proclaimed that the world is never completely subjugated to evil, but is sustained and dwelt in by a Father with Whom we can be in fellowship and upon Whom we can depend. To realize this dependence, and to perceive that there is for man a common good and a universal life, is to forsake that selfishness and license which is the root of sin. And in His willingness to instruct men that their life is unnatural, and indeed unrealized, until they recognize that all self-seeking,

hate, and envy must be laid aside, Jesus was faithful "unto death." He had to reveal the capacity of men to become the sons of God, to teach them that they were not truly men until this capacity was active and they were the conscious instruments of a conscious God, Who produces and restores all things. And this revelation involved the death of Christ. It brought against Him all the antagonism of a vitiated patriotism and a false idea of life, and Christ met that antagonism by the one method which could conquer it. He let the storm of hatred and selfishness burst upon Him, and thereby showed that His love of man and His conception of life could hold their ground through the most terrible of trials, and that His love of the Father could persist through every sorrow and tribulation which hitherto had seemed to men to disprove, not only the love, but even the justice of God. By no other method than the method of the Cross could man have learnt that "whosoever will save his life shall lose it," and that to lose life, in the sense of detaching it from finite claims, is to find it transfigured and productive with the powers of eternity.

Dr. Edward Caird, in his *Evolution of Religion*, has insisted on this part of the work of Jesus with remarkable depth of insight and beauty of expression. At the same time, he has singularly underrated the moral value and historical justification of the doctrine of the Atonement as stated in the New Testament. He assails the belief of the

Church that the doctrine of the Atonement, as stated by St. Paul, is historically true to the conception of Jesus and the original apostles, by representing the Pauline doctrine as a useful evolution, altered from the original Gospel by the addition of two important theories. "The simple intuition of Jesus, that 'he who would save his life must lose it,' was, in the first place, projected into the form of an outward event, as the history of a Messiah who died to rise again ; and then, in the second place, it was re-interpreted, as the great moral law of the life of man."¹ St. Paul in admitting this "one transcendent miracle as the basis of his faith" is considered to have "imperfectly carried out"² the change of religion inaugurated by Christ. And with regard to the lesson conveyed by the death of Jesus, Dr. Caird thinks that St. Paul "partly weakened its effect, as the simple exposition of the moral nature of man and the mode of his development, by making the sacrifice of Jesus essentially different from that which is the ordinary trial of humanity"; and again it is said that "the open secret of Jesus" is "somewhat obscured in St. Paul."³ This appears to mean that St. Paul was misrepresenting the teaching of Jesus when he taught that the death of Christ propitiated the Father in favour of mankind. Now, it is an interesting fact that St. Paul, whether rightly or wrongly, believed his Gospel to be morally and historically impregnable at the very

¹ Vol. ii. p. 200.² Page 237.³ Page 200.

points where Dr. Caird believes it to be weakest :¹ "For I delivered unto you first of all that which also I received, how that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures ; and that He was buried ; and that He hath been raised on the third day according to the Scriptures." ² And St. Paul not only calls this "the Gospel which I preached," but goes on to mention that Peter and James and all the apostles witnessed the "transcendent miracle" of the risen Messiah. St. Paul's account of the Resurrection and Atonement must also have received the direct approval of the original apostles ; for, in writing to the Galatians, he says, "I laid before them the Gospel which I preach among the Gentiles." Moreover, the writings of St. Peter and St. John make it very evident that they believed firmly in the Resurrection, and held that the sacrifice of Jesus was "essentially different" from that which is the ordinary trial of humanity. Whether this opinion was justified by the words of Jesus must be considered presently. In the meanwhile we may notice that all theories concerning the work of Jesus are connected with theories concerning His personality. This would apply equally to the doctrines of Irenæus or of Luther, of Athanasius or of Socinus. And the rule holds good in the case of Dr. Caird. He naturally thinks St. Paul "partly weakened" the lesson of

¹ My attention was first called to this by a note in Dr. Denney's *Studies in Theology*, p. 268.

² I Cor. xv. 3, 4.

Christ's sacrifice, because he thinks that St. Paul adulterated the historical reality of Christ's person. He thinks that the apostle made "a kind of separation of Christ from humanity and a kind of identification of him with God, which is practically a return to the Jewish opposition of God and man, and a denial of the distinctive title which Christ gave himself as the Son of Man."¹ We should be at some loss in any endeavour to explain how St. Paul's doctrine of the Incarnation is in any sense a return to the Judaism against which his ministry is a protest, unless Dr. Caird also told us that his error is that "he regards Christ's life in the flesh as an episode between a life in glory before his birth and a life in glory after his death, and thus takes him out of all the ordinary conditions of humanity."² St. Paul's "return to the Jewish opposition of God and man" therefore seems to be his doctrine that the Messiah was the eternal Son and Image of God through Whom all things were made, and his doctrine that no other among those born of woman can enjoy this same unique relationship to the Father. This opinion is made clearer by other passages. We are told concerning Jesus that there is "one point in which he really is unique, as being the first to break through the Jewish division between the divine and the human;"³ this He apparently did by His complete sacrifice, which was "the act by which the supremacy of the universal principle could be shown," and His

¹ Page 214.² Page 214.³ Page 234.

revelation of "that capacity of men to become sons of God."¹ In other words, Jesus was only the most eminent of martyrs, and the most excellent of philosophic teachers, who was the first to show the true nature of the religious consciousness; and St. Paul and St. John bound up with the "passing existence" of a single man a truth which applies equally to every man that ever existed, for we all can be sons of God in the same manner that Jesus was son of God.

Now it is hardly necessary to point out that St. Paul and St. John did not think Christ's lesson weakened by their belief in the "self-beggary" and "self-emptying" of Him Who was in the form of God, and yet was content to manifest the character of His divine personality by submission to the death of the Cross. And the mind of Dr. Caird is too spiritual and too acute to be blind to the moral danger which attends a repudiation of their view, which he believes was necessary though unhistorical. "The general idea needs, so to speak, to be embodied or incarnated, to be 'made flesh and to dwell among men,' in all the fulness of realization in a finite individuality, before it can be known and appreciated in its universal meaning. . . . In this movement from the individual to the universal the great danger is that the idea should lose in intensity what it gains in generality;² that, as it

¹ Page 231.

² There is an interesting parallel between this remark of Dr. Caird and a remark made three years earlier by Dr. Martineau.

frees itself from local and temporal conditions, it should at the same time be deprived of that direct force of appeal to the souls of men which springs from its identification with an individual who is its organ and living embodiment. It is, therefore, of the highest importance that, in spite of the generalizing process which necessarily begins so soon as the individual is removed and reflexion is at work upon his memory, the living impression of the person should as much as possible be retained, and kept in union with the principle he has represented.”¹ Exactly. That is the severest criticism which could be passed upon any modification of Christianity such as that suggested by the author himself. All attempts at “generalizing” that fulness of divine life which dwelt in Jesus, either by the process of declaring that all men possess the same capacities as Jesus, or by declaring that Jesus was capable of the same sins as we are, have always robbed Christianity of its “force of appeal.” The criticism which Theodore Parker passed upon his fellow Unitarians, the comparison which Dr. Martineau made between Unitarian commentaries or books of devotion and those of an orthodox

“Unavoidably, however, what is gained in diffusion is more or less lost in intensity ; and the ideal which is practically believable for all men, and is therefore measured by the standard of the lowest, cannot inspire the devotion and love with which Mary sat at Jesus’ feet, and Peter exclaimed, ‘Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life.’” *Seat of Authority in Religion*, p. 365.

¹ Page 221.

origin, and the candid words which he wrote to Father Suffield in 1870, are sufficiently significant. To the Dominican friar who was intending to become a Unitarian, Dr. Martineau wrote, "The religious life in our set of Protestant communities is not in a satisfactory condition; and the best that I can say for them is, that they offer no hindrance to either thought or conscience, and may be receptacles and vehicles of spiritual reformation."¹ And in spite of these warnings, and in spite of some misgivings, Dr. Caird seems, on the whole, to be confident that his theory will be adequate for all spiritual necessities, because it teaches the "divine humanity of Jesus Christ," and because "the power of Christianity has *always* lain in its bringing Christ, at once, and in virtue of the same moral and spiritual characteristics, into unity with God and with man."²

St. Paul, however, found the power of Christianity to lie in the fact that the essentially divine and adorable Messiah died on his behalf—"loved me, and gave Himself up for me"; and St. John found it, not in the theory that it brought Christ into unity with God and with man, but in the fact that it preached the truth that the Logos Who "was God" was sent to be "the propitiation for our sins." But it will be fitting to leave for a time the teaching of the apostles to return to the "living impression" of Christ in the Gospels. In a previous lecture we

¹ *Life of R. R. Suffield* (Williams & Norgate, 1893), p. 72.

² Page 232.

have considered the picture of Jesus as presented in those records. It is the picture of a Christ Who identifies Himself in a unique manner with the Father, and also of a Christ Whose death was far more than the inevitable result of a holy and voluntary collision with selfish prejudice. It is a picture inconsistent with the idea of sinfulness. Dr. Caird speaks of the "reconciled consciousness of Jesus himself and of his disciples."¹ There is abundant evidence in the New Testament to show that Paul and John and Peter had a "reconciled consciousness." They were conscious of sins forgiven through Christ. But there is not a line in the New Testament which even faintly suggests that the consciousness of Jesus was "reconciled." His sinless and unbroken unity with the Father is written on almost every page, and He attributes to His death a meaning which does not belong to the death of any of those who are, unlike Himself, reconciled and adopted to be "sons of God."

And consistently with this unique position, Jesus teaches that He performs a unique mediatorial work. He accepts the testimony of St. John the Baptist, that He is the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world. This saying of the Baptist may have referred to the Passover lamb, but more probably to the silent Lamb, which is a figure of the suffering servant of Jehovah (*Isa.* liii. 7). But even the Lamb mentioned by Isaiah does the supernatural work of atoning vicariously

¹ Page 101.

for sins ; and St. John, in his first Epistle, unquestionably attributes to the death of Christ this atoning and purifying power. It seems unreasonable to suppose that there was such a rigid separation between the principles of Jesus and the conceptions through which His disciples realized those principles, as would justify the hypothesis that Jesus repudiated all sacrificial significance in these words. Most of all, it is unreasonable on the lips of any one who is not decisive in separating the personality of Jesus from the personality of His disciples. If Jesus accepted this confession of the Baptist's, He did much more than instruct men, by the only perfect method, that life is not realized until it is lost. He attributed to His own death the efficacy of producing in men the consciousness of being reconciled to God. It is true that He said little about the significance of His death. And this is natural enough when we remember how slow His disciples were in understanding that He would die at all. But the words which He does use are unintelligible unless we recognize that He taught that the forgiveness of sins is secured by His death. St. Mark, the primitive character of whose Gospel is universally admitted, records the statement of Jesus that no man can give anything in exchange for his soul, that is, can redeem his soul, which is forfeited to destruction on account of sin. Guilt holds man captive, and a redemptive price must be paid if the captive is to be released. And,

a little later, Jesus shows how the redemptive price can be obtained. The surrender of His own life, or "soul," is of such value that it avails as a "ransom for many" who are unable to provide an adequate ransom for themselves. The teaching recorded by St. John is exactly the same, though given in other phrases. Dr. Bernhard Weiss, one of the most distinguished of Protestant theologians, says, "John identifies himself, completely, with the current apostolic type of doctrine." The discourses of Jesus in the fourth Gospel presuppose the current apostolic idea of salvation, and Jesus is there the Good Shepherd Who gives His life for the sheep, that they may not become the prey of the wolf, and lose their souls in death. Finally, at the Last Supper, Jesus calls His blood "the blood of the new covenant." The words contain an obvious reference to the prophecy of Jeremiah concerning the altered relations between Jehovah and His people. The old covenant had required a sacrifice whose blood was sprinkled upon the people that they might identify themselves with its surrendered life, and so be accepted by God; and in like manner Jesus speaks of His sacrifice as establishing a covenant relationship between God and the consciences which can henceforth call Him Father.

This teaching of Jesus is faithfully reproduced in the teaching of St. John, St. Peter, and St. Paul. The last expounds it in many passages, of which only one will be selected here. "Christ

redeemed us from the curse of the law, having become a curse for us: for it is written, Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree." The context makes it evident that St. Paul means that to find ourselves under a code of known obligations which we are unable to fulfil, is to discover in ourselves a sense of torture, and to know that we are under God's curse. This curse or condemnation of sin is expressed by death, to which St. Paul, like the author of the story of the Fall in Genesis, always gives a profound moral significance, the physical significance being included under the moral, and the physical punishment depending on the moral. Christ removes the tension of our minds by removing the divine condemnation passed upon us for separating ourselves from God, Who is our true source of life. Christ does this by choosing that God's condemnation should pass upon Him. The desolation experienced on the Cross shows us Jesus in the position of a sinner. The righteousness of God the Father, so long unknown "because of the passing over of the sins done aforetime, in the forbearance of God," is now vindicated. It is shown to men that moral and physical pain follow upon the violation of this righteousness, and at the same time this righteousness ceases to repel them because its highest vindication is also the highest vindication of the love of Him Who "so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son." This is the severity and the optimism of Christianity which the apostles base

upon the character of God. In its assurance of God's justice and of God's welcome, and in its offer of peace to those oppressed with guilt, it very greatly transcends the message of salvation proclaimed by those who believe only in "a divine humanity" of Jesus. The Christian may reverently apply to His Maker and Judge the very words which Dr. Caird has spoken of man: "The immediate renunciation of his rights, the immediate refusal to stand against his fellows in the selfish struggle, is not merely *one* possible way of taking their lives into his own, and making them the instruments of his own highest life; but it is the only way in which they can cease to be his enemies or rivals, and become his helpers and associates in the pursuit of a good which is common to all."¹

I have ventured to dwell at some length on the theory of Christ's work advocated by Dr. Caird, because I conceive it to be a very religious and able statement of an old but more than doubtful reading of the Christian faith, brought up to date by a belief in evolution and a deepened sense of the immanence of God in the universe. It is, consequently, an admirable illustration of the truth that the Catholic doctrines of the Incarnation and of the Atonement stand or fall together, and that any denial of Jesus as God involves a denial of Jesus as Saviour. Christ, according to Catholic theology, is the second Adam, the representative

¹ Page 189.

of humanity, the head of a renovated race. By no forced surrender to an unjust God, but by a voluntary co-operation with Him Whose righteousness and love had been eternally identical with His own, the Son of God, the Lawgiver of the kingdom of heaven, died "a ransom for many." In virtue of His relation to every member of the human race, He made on Calvary that sacrifice which then availed potentially for all the world, and avails actually for all who identify themselves with Him.

This doctrine, that the death of Christ has a propitiatory efficacy, has sometimes been presented in such a manner as to provoke a merited opposition. The theory of certain of the Calvinistic Protestants in England and America was, that the suffering Christ endured the same punishment, or punishment as great in amount of suffering, as that due to the elect for their sins, the guilt of the elect being transferred to Christ, and the righteousness of Christ being transferred to the elect. The result of this teaching was that Christ was felt to be fulfilling the law of love on man's behalf, but fulfilling towards the Father only a legal requirement, and not a surrender in the spirit of sonship. The greatest injury was consequently done to the conception of the Fatherhood of God, and a division introduced into the attributes of the Persons of the Trinity. Hence we are not surprised to find Unitarians attacking this doctrine, and saying that, without the doctrine of the Atonement, Christians

"would go straight to God." So said Theodore Parker, who asked, "Cannot the Infinite love His frail children without teasing? Needs He a chancellor to advise Him to use forgiveness and mercy?" It is plain that these attacks would have been far less easy to make if the love of the Father for "the world," and not only for a limited number of its inhabitants, had been recognized by the Calvinists, and if preachers had taught that sin is as much an outrage against the Son as against the Father, and that real love is never less than severe towards anything that mars the character of the beloved. But it might still seem that there is something capricious, if not immoral, in the doctrine that by Christ's self-sacrifice we are accepted of God. The idea which underlies this supposition of capriciousness, is that the doctrine implies that God accepts Christ instead of our renovated characters. This is, apparently, in the mind of Mr. Jowett, when, in his essay on "The Atonement," he says that St. Paul's language about the substitution of Christ for the believer is opposed to his language about the identification of the believer with Christ. And consequently, St. Paul's language about Christ's death is said to be "far indeed from expressing a doctrine of atonement or satisfaction;" while his language about the intimate union between Christ and the believer is interpreted as meaning merely that the believer "follows Christ until he becomes like Him."¹

¹ Jowett, *The Epistles of St. Paul* (Murray, 1859), vol. ii. p. 564.

Neither of these interpretations adequately answers to the language of the apostles of Christ. Christ's identification of Himself with the troubles and sorrows of others, an identification which Mr. Jowett recognizes, is represented in the New Testament as removing a barrier between God and mankind. And the language of the New Testament about union with Christ cannot be interpreted as meaning only an imitation of Christ. The Christ who faced death for us, resists sin in us. He is "God, blessed for ever." He is the divine Word made flesh. And, consequently, although the believer is not exempted from the penalties of sin, except that "death" which is the loss of God's presence in the soul, he is enabled to bear the discipline of suffering and discipline of physical death as Christ bore it. "In the volume of the book it is written of Me that I should fulfil Thy will, O My God: I am content to do it, yea,

The entire argument is vitiated by the author's assumption that the sacrificial expressions used are "really inconsistent" with the language about identity. Such an assumption logically necessitates the theory that both these classes of expression are passing metaphors. But the assumption is inconsistent with the history and, indeed, with the idea of sacrifice. The reader may be referred to Robertson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites*, p. 402. He says, "In ordinary burnt-offerings and sin-offerings the imposition of hands is not officially interpreted by the law as a transference of sin to the victim, but rather has the same sense as in acts of blessing or consecration, where the idea, no doubt, is that the physical contact between the parties serves to identify them." Interesting examples are also given of heathen worshippers dressing themselves to resemble the victim; a symbol of the necessary identification of the offerer with the victim.

Thy law is within My heart." "Non emendari, sed transfigurari." These words of Seneca find their realization in this moral surrender, which is merged into the obedience of Christ. The apostles of Christ, and Christ Himself, teach that the Christian life is an impossibility until He pours into the soul an influx of strength which turns all its faculties in one direction. The sceptical moralist can neither analyse nor detect the surrender or the gift; but God perceives what is to issue from this double act of the sinner and his Saviour. He accepts him "in the Beloved."

There is a great wood-cut by Albert Dürer, representing the Holy Trinity. Many would see in it nothing but æsthetic merit, or would even scorn it by the name "anthropomorphic." It has a deeper meaning to those who know that Christ has reconciled not only the antithesis of pre-Christian faiths, but also the antithesis between themselves and God. The Almighty Father is pictured as having just received into "the everlasting arms" the bruised and lifeless body of His Son. On the Father's face, majesty and love are met together. But we cannot gaze into His eyes. They are looking downward, and seem to "see Jesus only." In Him, who is dead, but about to be alive for evermore, they find the promise of what man can be when his faculties are, not destroyed nor corrected, but transfigured.

CHAPTER VI.

FAITH.

Fidem qui perdit, nil potest ultra perdere.—SENECA.

What faith He asked of whoso entered in
The slave may have in bondage, if he lifts
Eyes of sad hope ; th' unlettered hind may have
Who, at his toil, hungers for better bread
Than what toil buys ; the little child may have,
Content to love and trust.

SIR EDWIN ARNOLD, *The Light of the World*.

I.

IN Great Britain religion and superstition have preserved more survivals of the past than is generally supposed. In Lincolnshire, persons are yet living who remember a "witch" who, at her dying hour, trusted for deliverance in the names of the ancient Scandinavian deities, Thor and Loki. In Wales the peasantry, on the eve of adopting Methodism, still crossed themselves, called on the names of the saints, and knelt on the graves of the dead before they entered church. But perhaps no survival has been so remarkable, because so widely retained by the educated, as the survival of a theory of Faith which can be traced to Luther,

and derived by him, with a very important modification, from some writers of the Middle Ages. This theory has been retained by large numbers of earnest Christians, who believe that they present the Gospel with peculiar and somewhat exclusive fidelity, and that their teaching is in the closest association with that of St. Paul. It has been guarded by other doctrines, which have greatly limited its powers for evil, and it has undoubtedly been a means of bringing multitudes to a real interest in goodness. But that the theory is false in itself has been the conviction of some who have held no brief for Catholicism. For example, the late Prof. T. H. Green, in his "lay sermon" on "Faith," says, "Such terms as forgiveness, reconciliation, and salvation, instead of representing experiences of the believer—processes of his spiritual life—came to represent certain divine transactions, in which the believer had no personal part, though through faith he had the benefit of them in the acquisition of final happiness In ordinary Protestant theology, forgiveness is still something else than the moral act of putting off the old man ; salvation something else than putting on the new. That forgiveness and salvation should be regarded, not as something earned by the individual for himself, but as the free gift of God, is no doubt an essential point in the Gospel which St. Paul preached. On any other view it would be another gospel, which, indeed, as he might have said, would not be

another, but no gospel at all. But a free forgiveness, an unearned salvation, need not on that account be other than states into which by the self-communication of God the human spirit is brought; and we are nearer to the mind of St. Paul when we consider them as such states which, in the life of faith or life according to the spirit, become ours, than when we look on them as external blessings, won for us by the crucified and risen Christ, and which Faith is the condition of our appropriating."

The above passage is open to some criticism, but it is undoubtedly correct in assuming that the ordinary Protestant view of Faith means the apprehension of an external transaction. As to the more exact character of this Faith which is made so prominent in revivalist and other preaching, we may turn for a description to Dr. Bushnell, one of the ablest of American Protestant preachers. "A doctrine of justification by faith is held by many so literal and forensic in its form, that the gospel of heaven's love and light is narrowed almost to a superstition. They scarcely dare entertain the thought of a personal righteousness, or to look upon any such hope as permissible. It implies, they fear, some expectations of being saved, not wholly by the merits of Christ. They cannot even read or hear, without a little jealousy or disturbance of mind, those texts of scripture that speak of assurance, liberty, a conscience void of offence, victory over sin, a pure heart, a blameless life, and

a perfect love. They are so jealous of merit that they make a merit of not having any. They are so resolved on magnifying the grace of God, as almost to think it a crime to believe that the grace of God can make them any better. They come before God in confessions of sin, so extravagant, so wide of their own consciousness, that if a fellow-man were to charge upon them what they confess, they would be mortally offended."¹

Dr. Bushnell did not exaggerate the theory of Faith as held by many of his friends. But this theory is surpassed by a theory very common in this country, and industriously propagated in innumerable tracts. It combines complete assurance of salvation with an implied release from moral obligations. When the theory is taught in a developed form, it is insisted that if the fact that Christ died in the place of the awakened sinner is once really accepted, the "safety and certainty" of eternal happiness is secured. Moreover, a doctrine of works of supererogation is introduced by the suggestion that the good works which follow such a conversion will be rewarded by a sense of communion with God which is not given to those who are simply "saved." These tenets are only more or less logical pendants of the central doctrine, which, as practically taught, includes the following points:—

1. Faith is attenuated to mean a persuasion that God the Father punished the Son on man's behalf.

¹ *God in Christ*, p. 318.

Nothing more than this persuasion is required, and it is sometimes expressly said that love to God only comes afterwards. This is plainly derived from Luther, who was familiar with the scholastic distinction between *fides informis* and *fides formata cum charitate*. But while the schoolmen said that only a Faith inspired with love rendered a man acceptable to God; Luther said that this love was unnecessary, and that it would introduce the idea of winning acceptance by good works. It is remarkable that, although those who teach this doctrine repeatedly appeal to St. Paul, they can be safely challenged to produce a single statement of the apostle to support their theory. St. Paul uses the word "Faith" in seven different shades of meaning, and not one of these seven corresponds with this Protestant interpretation. He certainly regards Faith in Christ's sacrifice as essential to salvation. This remains true, although we must reject that interpretation of *Rom. iii. 25* which connects the words "through faith" with the words "in His blood," and accept the interpretation which links "in His blood" with the statement that God "set forth" Christ publicly to the world. But this Faith which lies at the heart of the apostle's teaching is the devoted personal attachment of a man's character to Christ. It is inconceivable that it could exist without love. And all Biblical theology encourages us to believe that Faith in "Christ crucified" does not so much mean a persuasion that the divine Victim encountered

death, as surrender to One Who offered His life to God and imparts it to man.¹ It is true that the modern perversion of this doctrine has often led men to a Pauline devotion to Christ ; but it is equally true that there is a vital distinction between this perversion and St. Paul's own doctrine. The Lutheran doctrine led, in Luther's own lifetime, to a moral confusion which Luther himself bitterly deplored, and for which he was responsible. He had opposed the mediæval doctrine that the sacraments avail for man's sanctification *ex opere operato*, and yet his doctrine of Faith introduced the belief that man is saved *ex opere operato*, or, as Bossuet said, by an "indulgence." In this teaching salvation is *une affaire faite*. The vehement enthusiasm with which Luther had said, "Be a sinner, and sin lustily ; but be more lusty in faith, and rejoice in Christ ;" his light-hearted and unstatesmanlike indifference to the real value of the Church, opened

¹ It is fair to say that in treatises a truer meaning is often given to Faith than in tracts and preaching. But even in books of Protestant theology, justifying Faith is sometimes too exclusively connected with the Crucifixion. An instance of this is afforded by the comment on *Rom.* iv. 25 by the learned Swiss theologian, Dr. Godet. St. Paul says that Christ "was raised for our justification." The apostle means that the purpose of the Resurrection was to bring about our justification. It is a guarantee of the moral resurrection of the man who is united with Christ—a fact expounded in *Rom.* vi. Dr. Godet strongly insists on this union between Christ and the believer, but paraphrases the words "was raised for our justification" by saying that the Resurrection of Jesus is the effect of that absolution which God pronounced over humanity by virtue of Christ's Crucifixion. *Commentaire sur L'Épître aux Romains*, vol. i. p. 427.

the gates to an enemy whom he could not expel. His doctrine is at the present day taught by men who would shudder to repeat his words to Melanchthon, that sin will not pluck us from Christ "though a thousand times a day we commit fornication or murder"; but it will always carry the same danger as in Luther's time.

2. Faith, according to the Lutheran theory, renders man acceptable to God, because he who possesses this Faith sees his sins transferred to Christ, and has the merits of Christ imputed to him by God's transaction. Now there is not a single passage in which St. Paul speaks of the righteousness of Christ being imputed. The words translated "impute" are metaphorical, apparently meaning to "reckon" and to "make an entry" in a ledger. St. Paul says, "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself, not imputing unto them their trespasses." God welcomes when He might condemn. St. Paul, moreover, argues that circumcision was received by Abraham after God had "imputed his Faith to him as righteousness," *i.e.* given him credit for the right will implied in it; intending also that all to whom He might thereafter credit the same right will should be the recipients of the same favours as any circumcised child of the chosen race. But St. Paul nowhere says that Christ's righteousness is credited to the believer. It may be urged that Luther's teaching, though not explicitly stated by St. Paul, is a fair inference from St. Paul's assertion

that, as through the sole fault of Adam death began to reign, so through the sole work of Jesus Christ believers shall reign in life; an assertion which implies an organic union between Christ and the believer. Now provided it be understood that God does not impute what man does not appropriate, this inference is both legitimate and Pauline, and it underlies the whole Catholic theory of the sacraments. The righteousness so imparted corresponds with the "inherent righteousness" spoken of at the time of the Reformation by the theologians connected with the Roman society called the Oratory of Divine Love, a society suspected of Lutheranism on account of its teaching the necessity of an imputed righteousness in addition to inherent righteousness. But the Lutheran theory expressly rejects the premises which make the inference possible. For it teaches that man is not freed from sin when he believes (*peccatum adest vere*); he is reckoned as free only by a sacred fiction. This is not the teaching of St. Paul. He states that God "justifieth the ungodly"; He acquits Him as though innocent. But the acquittal is only pronounced when "the ungodly" has that Faith which contains all godliness in germ.

In fact, Luther's teaching on Faith, like his teaching on the sacraments, is a patchwork. He retained baptism and the Eucharist, while believing that Faith supplied the same advantages. With equal inconsistency he denies that Faith can exist in the midst of mortal sin like an "empty husk,"

and yet he affirms that want of Faith is "the only sin." And this Faith justifies "without and before love," and is a conviction that "my sins are no longer mine," but are made "to stick fast in Christ." When therefore he says that "Christ is present in Faith itself," he is building again the truths which he destroyed. For he guesses that Faith does not save in virtue of its being an assurance as to the fact of the Crucifixion, but saves in virtue of the divine gift which it appropriates. This gift is nothing else than God's righteousness realized in Christ, and given as an immanent principle to the believer.

But he never saw the relation between Faith and Christian righteousness. He said that Faith "sets one right everywhere and in all affairs," but he denied that Christ "came to pass a new law and give precepts on morals." We are therefore not surprised to find that he did not show that Faith gives men a continual impulse to effort. Faith does this because it experiences God's increasing gift of life through Christ by sharing in the moral and sacramental activity of the Church. While Luther declared that the Catholic clergy "know just as much of a contemplative life as a goose knows of the Psalter," basing this criticism on their withdrawal from active duties; at the same time, he himself neglected the fact that Faith impels us to effort because that union with God, which is the aim of its existence, is enjoyed whenever Faith touches God in the

performance of good. Faith gathers strength from the labours which draw upon its power.

Whether Luther's theory has not borne fruit in making the sense of Christian duty far lower than it would otherwise have been, it is not hard to determine. The indifference to religion in most parts of Protestant Germany now equals the frivolity of the age of Leo X., and the writings of Protestant theologians which have caricatured "Paulinism" are as darkening as the tomes of the dullest schoolmen. In our own country the influence of Lutheranism has been less conscious and less observed than the influence of Calvinism. But it has probably been quite as great, and the Lutheran theory of Faith shares with the Calvinist doctrine of predestination the responsibility for a large amount of modern antipathy to the Christian religion. The dramatic fervour of Luther has impressed the common people as much as Calvin's brilliant intellect has impressed the learned. The circumstances of Luther's revolt from mediævalism were sufficiently striking and sufficiently similar to St. Paul's revolt from Judaism for him to feel able to give an interpretation of St. Paul's theology which the most uneducated can understand. But, against his will, he made St. Paul seem intelligible at the cost of making him seem immoral.

Any attempt to use Luther as the best exponent of the meaning of the Gospel can only be made in one of three possible ways.

As a first alternative, men will select from

Luther's writings the passages which represent Faith as the process of passively consenting to the approach of God in Christ to the human soul. They must then renounce a "piety that would strive to press upward to God by human endeavour." In other words, they will have to deny the freedom of the human will, as Luther did when he opposed Erasmus. The second alternative must be to select from Luther those passages in which he teaches that Faith comes on assent to certain prescribed doctrines. They will then be obliged to accept the doctrine held by Luther's immediate followers, that Faith implies a human effort to grasp a revealed truth. To the Catholic Christian such a doctrine occasions no difficulty, but it is not consistent with the body of Luther's teaching, and no theologians have recognized the inconsistency more clearly than those of the new Ritschlian school which is trying to breathe life into that body. The third alternative must be to adopt Luther's teaching in its entirety. This involves not only the acceptance of inconsistencies. It involves also an acquiescence in the teaching, that "if we were deeply and thoroughly inward and spiritual" we might "do nothing, content with Faith." It involves an admission that there is no inevitable connection between Faith and Love, and a subscription to statements that are neither true nor clean.¹

¹ An instance of the effort to retain Lutheran doctrine in its entirety is furnished by the following statement of Dr. Moule of

With indignant delight we turn to St. Paul's true meaning. He is not only not an Antinomian. Any theory of Faith which does not stimulate the very highest moral tone is in plain opposition to his teaching. When he spoke against "works" he made his meaning clear enough. He impressed upon men the truth that, if there is a God at all, man cannot stand opposite to Him and strike a bargain with Him. The Jews were endeavouring to do this, and found the centre of their life, not in devotion to God's unseen presence, but in an interesting routine which they could never completely fulfil, and which consequently was itself the condemnation of their theory of salvation by contract. And until the idea that achievement is better than character has been finally driven into hell the teaching of St. Paul will keep its early vigour. For it was the character of man that he always had at heart. He knew that a religion which is only a religion of good works will soon leave good works undone. All law, as law, fails to penetrate the hidden depths of the soul. It requires conformity ; the sphere of motive is not its province. It illuminates the mind as Ridley Hall, Cambridge. "The justified man, if he is not only to stand accepted before God, but to enjoy the bliss of the fact, must, as a spiritual condition, 'walk humbly with his God,' in regenerate obedience. The act, and yet more the habit of admitted and willing sin, is fatal to personal assurance in that sense." *Outlines of Christian Doctrine*, pp. 189, 190. The only natural interpretation of these words is that willing sin destroys the sensible happiness of religion, but does not interfere with acceptance in God's sight.

to the nature of sin, and immediately, by virtue of a certain perversity in human character, becomes the means of irritating the mind to rebellion. But a "faith energetic through love" is a virtue which must imply a complete victory over self, a surrender to God as unconditional as it is enthusiastic. And the apostle is careful to show that the Old Testament, and even the Pentateuch itself, if properly interrogated, points to this conception of the relation between man and his Maker. He could say, "We establish the Law," while Rabbinism was making it of no effect. This is so explicitly the teaching of St. Paul, that when a fashionable novelist calls it "frankly Antinomian" we feel at liberty to suggest that he might as well call the teaching of Archbishop Laud "frankly Calvinistic."

And St. Paul does not represent Faith as a guarantee of merely future holiness. The Faith he preaches cannot exist if it is not animated by a devotion to holiness. This results from the fact that Faith is both an effort of man and a gift of God. The teaching of St. Paul is in entire harmony with the teaching of our Lord recorded by St. John, that to believe on Him is "the work of God." It is the work which God does in us and requires from us. All our powers are gifts of God. But Faith is peculiarly a divine gift. It is a confidence begotten and sustained by the Spirit of God, Who shows us God's revelation of Himself in Christ, and teaches us "that we may know the things that are freely given to us of God." In its truly

Christian form, Faith is only found in the man who knows that God is saving him from his sins through Christ. If Faith could exist apart from a conscious dependence upon God, sanctification would not necessarily be inherent in it. But it is of the essence of Christian Faith that it should be primarily directed towards neither the most sacred of institutions nor the holiest of books, but towards One Who lifts us into communion with an absolutely righteous God. "Believing," as the council of Trent says, "that the ungodly is justified by His grace," we "begin to love Him as the fount of all righteousness, and consequently are moved in opposition to sin." Only those possess a justifying Faith who have souls

Which, when the light shines, turn themselves to light
As field-flowers do ; and, like the flowers of the field,
Are glad of the great sun for the sun's sake ;
And, being evil, are for good ; being weak,
Will give what thews they own for righteousness,
Will lay what gifts they have at Love's fair feet.

II.

While we regard with sorrow the imaginary opposition between Faith and Rectitude, we must regard with equal regret the supposed antagonism between Faith and Reason. This supposed antagonism has been carefully elaborated by some members of the Ultramontane school of Roman Catholics for the special purpose of gaining converts from the Church of England. The inquirer

is reminded that the human Reason has a certain incapacity in the investigation of religion, and that this incapacity is united with a thirst for the knowledge of God. He is then assured that Reason is unable to arrive at the truth about God, although it can decide whether the authority that professes to speak to him of God is a satisfactory authority or no. The various characteristics of a true authority are submitted to his Reason, and the controversialist hopes that the inquirer will find a living and convincing authority in the pope. If he is satisfied, he then receives the grace of Faith. Now we can have no inclination to deny that this theory has, like that of Luther, been sometimes a means of guiding human souls to holiness. But we cannot fail to notice that it has been distinguished by a singular attitude towards the whole history of Christianity, whether contained in the New Testament or elsewhere. When a cardinal archbishop declares that his co-religionists "readily admit that they do not go to the text of Scripture for their devotion," and a second cardinal archbishop writes an introduction to a Church history which persistently sets aside the testimony of all the best ancient writers whenever they record a fact which militates against the infallibility or the divinely granted supremacy of the pope, one may be pardoned for asking if such an irrational Faith is essentially Christian. And, apart from this attitude towards history, we might ask how it is possible for the Reason to find God's

voice in the pope if the Reason does not previously believe in God—in other words, if it is not already vivified by Faith. This Ultramontane theory, “that Faith is only given on submission to the pope,” assumes that God is quite outside our consciousness of God until an external organ of His revelation is discovered.

Such a division between Faith and Reason is entirely unknown to the New Testament. There is a necessary opposition between Faith and a dead routine of works, and there is a possible opposition between Faith and sight and even some mental activities. But Reason is never taught by the New Testament to feel itself a culprit, inasmuch as the divine Word or Reason illuminates every mind to enable it to see the Father. The men whose minds open themselves beneath its radiance will not be eager for the vision of outward signs, for their Reason is itself moving to accept God and to draw closer to Him. And it is remarkable that unless there was some such movement of the soul, Christ did not attempt to convince His hearers. He left it possible for the Jews to say, “How long dost Thou make us to doubt?” His whole method is intensely authoritative, but He does not so present Himself as to make all dispute about His claims impossible. Nor have we any ground for believing that the Church ought to adopt a different plan. But Ultramontanism has done so, and its partial success in England has been due to a desire that the supernatural character

of religion should be obtruded, and to a further desire that the true Church should be able to give so definite an account of itself as to leave no room for dispute. There is certainly the need among us of a protest against the creed that knowledge is the principle of all good, and that no salvation is worth attaining which is not allied with critical powers. But the fault of the Ultramontane protest is not that it makes Faith too important, but that it makes it too narrow.

No better illustration of this can be found than in two sermons on Faith preached by Dr. Newman not long after his secession from the Church of England. It is true that they fall below the present standard of Ultramontane teaching. The doctrine of the infallibility of the pope had not been defined when they were preached, and in them the "living oracle" and "living authority" are not as a rule the pope, but the main body of official teachers in the Roman Church. But the theory about Faith is exactly the same as that of recent controversialists. It is criticized the more easily because the great preacher defines Faith carefully. "It is assenting to a doctrine as true, which we do not see, which we cannot prove, because God says it is true, Who cannot lie." And a little afterwards he says Faith assents "not because it sees with eye, or sees with the reason, but because it is told by one who comes from God." That the New Testament includes this view of Faith, sometimes rather implicitly than explicitly, no student can

question. It is true that in the Epistle to the Hebrews "Faith" is a conviction that God will fulfil His promises, and it occasionally means this in the Epistle to the Romans, and St. James expressly uses it to describe the belief that God is One. But it is remarkable that the elements of Faith which are conspicuously prominent in the New Testament are conspicuously absent in these two great controversial sermons, or only glide in almost unawares. There is scarcely anything to suggest that Faith is a personal and loving adhesion to Christ, as in the writings of St. Paul ; or that it is belief "that Jesus is the Son of God," as in those of St. John ; and very little to suggest that it is trust in the goodness and power of the Father, as in St. James and the synoptic Gospels. It is "implicit submission" to a God Who exercises an authority which is not described as paternal, Who is called "the great External Object," and Who is said to speak through the pope and other official teachers of the Roman Church. It is an essential part of the whole argument that no one has Faith until he submits completely to that teaching. At one point the absurdity of maintaining this position just flashed across the preacher's mind, and he admitted that there are some others who "certainly have some claim to be considered under the influence of Faith." But after this admission the former argument is resumed.

It is only just to say that Dr. Newman had no intention of disparaging Reason, and had in a

previous sermon declared that "it is the way to Faith." And this is granted by his successors. But in him as in them there is a desire to minimize the empire of Faith in those inquiries of Reason which may precede assent to a divine truth. They have supposed that by the exclusion of Faith from so commonplace a sphere they have proved the nobility of its birth and the sacred character of its energies. But, happily for itself, Roman Catholicism is not committed to the keeping of its English defenders, and, only three years before Dr. Newman began to doubt whether the Church of England could remain the school of his soul, Père Lacordaire, in two of his great discourses in the cathedral of Paris, preached a view of the relation of Faith to Reason which allowed to Faith a far truer dignity and meaning. In these discourses it is said that the same law guides the formation of both Faith and Reason; it is said that "there is no doctrine where science and Faith do not need one another, at least to a certain degree," and that the man who even supposes he may be the work of a ruling and watchful Providence has the beginning of Faith. The first text chosen is, Jesus Christ "gave power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on His name," and the love of the Incarnation and the story of the Gospel are used as the means of rousing that good will which, together with a good understanding, begets a readiness to receive Faith. And this appreciation of Reason is quite at one with

that of St. Paul, who calls the presentation of our bodies to God our "reasonable service;" and of St. Peter, who calls Christian doctrine "rational milk" for the growth of souls. Reason by itself does not constitute the character of the "spiritual man" who is "judged of no man," but the apostles' use of the word "rational" and Christ's use of the word "understanding" combine to prove that the word Reason should not be employed when there is a desire to emphasize the distinction between the religious and non-religious energies of the mind. "Are ye also yet without understanding?" was the reproachful question asked by Jesus when His disciples were perplexed at hearing the moral truth that defilement came to man from within, and not from that which goeth into the mouth; and "having the understanding darkened" is, in St. Paul's teaching, a characteristic of moral alienation from the life of God. It is plain, therefore, that the spiritual habit of Faith is supposed to include and penetrate the Reason and the understanding. Faculties which do not explain Faith are comprehended in Faith, and are active in welcoming the historical Person of a Saviour Who both reveals God and rescues man.

III.

Taking our stand upon this ground, it will not be difficult for us to estimate a view of Faith which is sometimes held by some among those who prefer

to call themselves "Christians unfettered by dogma." Very frequently such men devote themselves to an intellectual dissection of religions or to a useful philanthropy, pursuits not essentially religious, for the reason that neither necessarily involves a recognition of God. But there are others among them who combine these pursuits with a piety, which demands the closer attention because it is so rare. They rightly identify Faith with a process of spiritual insight and revelation within the soul of man. This they consider ought to set aside all ecclesiastical dogmas, because the light of man's own self-consciousness is the most direct revelation, this self-consciousness being of the same substance as God Himself, although permitted by God to be so far independent of Him that it can resist His will. These writers, although their theory may perhaps be traced historically to Luther's doctrine of "private judgment," present an interesting parallel to the new Ultramontanes. Like the Ultramontanes, they exaggerate the need of caution in consulting the past. They give the name of Reason to the faculty by which the mind becomes aware of the Uncreated God, of Whom it is itself a part; but if this faculty exercises itself in an appeal to antiquity, they regard it as being as much guilty of treason as Cardinal Manning plainly declared it to be. Cardinal Manning held it to be a treason because it meant a disregard of a living, infallible pope. The "Christian unfettered by dogma" holds it to be a treason because

it implies an undue limitation of the believer's confidence in his own spiritual insight. Both desire each man to find the organ of Revelation to himself in one individual conscience. Both make light of Christian Faith as the Faith of a community. Of the two, the Ultramontane is the more rational, for he does recognize in certain departments that outward authority and dogmatic definitions are not "extrinsic to the believer's own self-consciousness." He sees that sensible evidences can be brought into connection with Faith. This is what the anti-dogmatist frequently overlooks, and in so doing parts company with that inclusive idea of Faith which marked early Christianity. The same apostle who has told us of the inward light of the divine Word in man, has emphatically said that he declared, "That which we have seen with our eyes, and our hands have handled of the Word of Life." This the anti-dogmatist regards as superstition. To him the value of Christ's appearance is far more superficial; in his eyes Jesus had no more of the Eternal within Him than other rational souls, and was only a man who saw with peculiar clearness that he shared in the relation which exists between every soul and God. To St. John, Christ was an outward and tangible authority in religion, brought into his own self-consciousness by an exercise of that self-consciousness in Faith. To the anti-dogmatist He is only a great teacher, who might make mistakes. And consequently, although they may speak of the synoptic Gospels

as "priceless records," they repudiate that view of Faith which is the general view in those records. For there Faith generally means a belief in the divine power of Christ to work in the physical world miracles that correspond to His work in the spiritual world.

Quite in harmony with this suspicion of the records of Jesus is the fellow-suspicion of the definitions of the Church. It is denied that Faith really finds a foundation in handling the incarnate Word, and it is denied that written dogma can be matter of Faith. The latter denial assumes that dogmas are only explanations of unreal events or of facts unconnected with the moral import of the Gospel. They are said to be "extrinsic to the believer's own self-consciousness." This not only begs the whole question, but is simply a plausible insult. No one, least of all the man who believes that each conscience is an organ of Revelation to its owner, has the smallest right to affirm that his brother's conscience finds no moral significance in the creeds. In reality, any good child who repeats the creed probably attaches a rudimentary moral significance to the statement that the Son of God "for us men and for our salvation came down from heaven"; and when he says, "I believe in the Holy Ghost," he remembers that his body is the temple of that purifying Guest. He knows that the creed has something to do with character. That St. Paul held the dogma of the Resurrection, and other matters regarded by the anti-dogmatist

as pretty fables, to be "extrinsic to the believer's own self-consciousness," no man can conceive himself in a position to maintain. And St. Paul believed that what formed an article of Faith to himself could as well form an article of Faith to his converts. All men do not discover in dogma a stone of stumbling, nor even a tower of refuge; but some find in it a truth which their spiritual faculty can experience and assimilate. As morality is stimulated and sustained by things tangible and external, so Faith can find support and strength even in sensible phenomena and external authority. As soon as this authority is accepted, and really becomes an authority, it is no longer an outward, but an inward proof of God's life and power. It is therefore idle to state the truth that "the spiritual life is, or ought to be, its own evidence," and then to exclude from the spiritual life and from religious belief any fact which is at first sight "empirical." It is idle to preach "a consciousness of God as a Spirit revealed, not in signs, but in the faith of the spiritual man"; it is possible for God to reveal Himself in signs as well as in Faith, and the spiritual man discerns Him in both.¹ And he who is most quick to see God everywhere, and whose ears are always open to His divine and fatherly authority, can consecrate the world of sense by Faith, and make that world a holy land.

¹ I have no desire to maintain that miracles are a remedy for unbelief, except, perhaps, in particular cases. For we have Christ's warrant for holding that the thoroughly careless will not be persuaded "though one rose from the dead."

The above discussion of some current views of Faith will not have been in vain if it suggests three considerations.

1. That differences of opinion with regard to the relation between Reason and Faith are partly mere differences about a word. Those who draw a wide distinction between Faith and Reason, mean by Reason a logical and scientific consideration of facts which is not influenced by moral or spiritual presumptions, and are often on the verge of using Reason in the sense of ratiocination and the making of syllogisms. On the contrary, those who attribute to Reason the same spiritual powers which their opponents attribute to Faith, sometimes carefully distinguish Reason from understanding, mean it to include the spiritual and moral faculties, and even exaggerate the antithesis which exists between Reason and the senses. The latter party remind us that we must not impose arbitrary limits upon our Reason; the former party remind us that Reason really makes limits for itself.

2. That Faith in the New Testament is one of the most inclusive and comprehensive of all forces. It is the mother of all our best faculties. It wages no border war with any of them. It especially includes the will as its ultimate element, because the will is the ultimate power of life. Hence one of the great tests of Faith is prayer, which is impossible without a good will. The homely remark of Luther's wife, once a nun, that somehow men no longer prayed as they used to pray, is one of

the most eloquent of all criticisms on Luther's teaching, for it implies that his teaching has not securely guarded the human will. Faith includes the understanding, for the understanding leads men to anticipate spiritual truths and to perceive a great deal of their application, but understanding can never be "evidence of things not seen." Faith includes the use of the senses, even of sight itself. For sense loses its purely sensuous character when it is adapted to the needs of a spiritual life, and when its suggestions are limited by reference to the demands of the entire human character. And because Faith is so comprehensive, some form of it is universal, and no one can be justified in supposing that it has only pursued a ghost down the corridors of time. And because it is so comprehensive in its relation to human character, complete unbelief is much more difficult to attain than thorough Faith.

How can we guard our unbelief,
Make it bear fruit to us?—the problem here.
Just when we are safest, there's a sun-set touch,
A fancy from a flower-bell, some one's death,
A chorus ending from Euripides,—
And that's enough for fifty hopes and fears
To rap and knock and enter in our soul!

3. That Faith implies both a human activity and a real gift of God. In its essence Christian Faith begins with the personal adhesion of a human will to the will of the divine Father, particularly as manifested in Christ. And all theories of Faith, even the most imperfect, agree that the divine will

arouses, touches, and illuminates the will of the believer, and that the affinity thus established between God and the soul is not of the nature of a logical inference or an intellectual conviction. This affinity is established Faith, and, although in the eyes of the beholder its activity is its justification, in the eyes of the possessor it is its own justification. As a consequence, real Faith is seldom lost when once it is gained, and to the genuine Christian any suggestion that the lessening of Faith would bring relief sounds hollow and astray. To act upon the suggestion would be to reject the sentiment of the unity of his being. He is bound to believe, not by selfish interest, but by "bands of love." He cannot think that he is narrow-minded in discerning "the heavenly vision," but in being disobedient to its inspiration.

When we regard Faith as a gift and an inspiration, we see that it has reflections in the world of sight and touch. It is the mysterious property of love and friendship that to the pure in heart they suggest, even if they do not present, an ideal which touches and transfigures; and this ideal slowly finds expression in the life of him who, in making his self-surrender, goes beyond the logic of the mere understanding. Science, again, has its sudden inspirations. It makes magnificent ventures, and does not merely verify and study piece by piece. And art by a sudden intuition fuses what it sees into a breathing and coherent whole. It does not scorn analysis, and it often

trains itself by laborious study and minute interpretation ; but art must forget both study and analysis when, in the fleeting but accepted time, it would make its own the glow upon the distant hills or the spell of a human face.

CHAPTER VII.

THE CHURCH AND THE KINGDOM OF GOD.

Hæc est, in gremium victos quæ sola recepit,
Humanumque genus communi nomine fovit,
Matris non dominæ ritu : civesque vocavit,
Quos domuit, nexuque pio longinqua revinxit.

CLAUDIAN, *in sec. cons. Stilich.* 150.

I.

THE religion revealed by Jesus Christ necessitated the creation of a Society. Isolation implies some contradiction of the idea of goodness. Men must be combined, and that not in some chance association which they may touch and leave, but in one that will stretch its arms across the world and be the compact and flexible embodiment of regenerate life. Jesus assumed that religion is social, that righteousness is based on mutual relations, and that the new life is not only fortified by contact, but begotten of it. The Christian is only real and intelligible as part of a great whole, as a member of a body. The potentialities of the Society are prior to the Christian's potentialities as an individual. He finds God in Christ when he perceives the "more abundant" life of those who believe in Christ. He is grafted into an organism, the powers

of which can heal him and purge him of the selfishness of his constitution. Christ in His ordinary teaching speaks of this organism as a Kingdom. It is the Kingdom of God, or the Kingdom of heaven, the latter title being a form of expression, probably arising from a Jewish reverence which shrank from a frequent repetition of the divine Name.

It was the ordinary belief of pious Jews that an age was to arrive when a Jerusalem far better than the Jerusalem below would descend upon the earth, and be the home of the descendants of Abraham, who would come together from the East and from the West. The new Sion was to be ruled by the royal Messiah, the Viceroy of God Himself. In sending the Messiah to reign, God would take into His own hands the government of His people, now oppressed by heathen earthly powers. The new age of righteousness and joy was to be centred in the Holy Land, but in some sense was to embrace all the inhabitants of the world. God would vindicate His holiness by a universal and acknowledged rule. It was, it is true, admitted by the Rabbis that God was already the King of Israel ; but His kingship was regarded as partly quiescent until the sins of His people were sufficiently chastised. The true Kingdom was to remain a vision, and transcending present experience, until "the days of the Messiah," when "the time of the Kingdom of heaven is come, that it should be revealed."

According to the explicit evidence of the evangelists, Jesus adopted this term of the Kingdom of God, and placed the idea in a vital connexion with His mission. His teaching was more than something destined to throw light upon an ancient conception. It is itself "the Word," or "the Gospel, of the Kingdom." It steadily unfolds the good tidings of a new Society, which has its own laws, its peculiar rewards, its own appointed officers, its own King, Who is an absolute Monarch, with crown rights which cannot be forfeited. This Monarch is Jesus Himself, Who, upon His own authority, consummates the idea of a theocracy by thrusting backward the imperfect elements of the Jewish law and giving emphasis to its spiritual truth.

The new theocracy is spiritual. "My Kingdom is not of this world." A leading Agnostic is quite correct in saying that the King did not stimulate commerce, or invention, or the "liberal arts." Jesus did not show a primary interest in politics; and while we may be sure He would have blessed the men who desire to lead all social movements Godward, He refused an invitation to arbitrate concerning a division of property. He told His disciples to "beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and of Herod." At first sight there appears to have been little in common between the Pharisees and the Erastian prince. But they had a real common basis: they were united in their desire that the same machinery should serve for the working of Church and State. Neither was content merely to amend

the conditions of civil life in such a way that the lessening of temptations and the deepening of a sense of responsibility might prepare for men's conversion. And both Herod and the Pharisees represent attitudes which men abandon slowly. One is the attitude of a party which suspects the State as something common and unclean until it submits to be the tool of a secularized Church ; and the other is the attitude of those who regard the Church as nothing more than a police force. The Ultramontane who is eager that the pope should be able to dispose of the things of this world, in order that the ecclesiastical commonwealth may be "perfect and sufficient of herself," stands on the same level as the Protestant who forgets that there are social laws which bind him as a Christian, even though the State may oppose them. They ignore the truth that the Kingdom of the Messiah, though it is not less divine when its rules are established by the State, owes its strength to the fact that it is not "of this world."

Again, the Kingdom is universal. Nothing can be less reasonable than the opinion of a great modern writer, that the parables which imply a welcome of the Gentiles to the Kingdom are forged anachronisms.¹ The story of the Prodigal Son, and of the certain man's Great Supper, cannot be rejected as inconsistent with the teaching of Jesus. It is very doubtful if even the greatest Jewish prophets got beyond a belief that Sion would be

¹ Dr. Martineau, *Seat of Authority in Religion*, p. 586.

the literal centre of the world's religion, and that circumcision and temple offerings would remain the signs of man's approach to God. It is mysterious that they should have been as Catholic as they were. But the Kingdom of which Jesus spoke is as free as the air of heaven. Moral disease may make it hard to breathe in such pure atmosphere, but no racial temperament can hinder the beneficence of its power.

The Kingdom is not only free to all, but all within it must be free. One must not exercise lordship over another. Emulation is not unlawful. But it must be emulation not for office, but for service. "He that is greatest among you shall be your servant." It was the Master who washed the disciples' feet. It was Judas, unless the best recent criticism is mistaken, who took the place of honour when the Master was seated at the last Passover. We need not suppose that a variety of orders is excluded in the exercise of spiritual authority. If the hand is to work in freedom there must be a brain to guide it.

Fourthly, the Kingdom, though divine, is not far off. It has already drawn nigh, though it is only partially revealed. Its immediate herald was the Baptist, and since his proclamation the violent are taking it by force. It is no longer what it had been, a picture of the imagination, a thing conceived yet unproduced. It is developing invisibly, like the grain of mustard seed which is soon to become a tree for the shelter of the birds. It is

spreading unperceived, like leaven through the meal. The Pharisees are watching the horizon to see the purple splendour of the Kingdom dawn: but even now it floods the penetrable ways of life, it is among them, though they overlook the Samaritan leper whose thanksgiving is a tribute to its universal grace. The outposts of the Kingdom are here on earth, and can be "entered" now; its stronghold is in heaven. Some day, a day of which the angels do not know, the curtains of the mist will be uplifted, and the whole reality be manifest in the triumph of God's light. And therefore we are taught to pray, "Thy Kingdom come."

This petition for the advent of the Kingdom is placed very near to the words "Our Father." Kingship carries with it the idea of magnificence, command, and power. But in the Gospel the glory of Kingship is blended with the glory of Fatherhood. It is softened with a love that plans and hopes, which is bestowed on many, and yet is undivided; a love that never changes the place that each child can call his own. The complete vindication of God's righteousness will be the restoration of man to his assured position.

Hence we gain an intimation of the necessary title for membership in the Kingdom of God. It is an enthusiastic moral submission to the divine Will shown in Jesus. This submission is expressed under various figures. The dealer in pearls must sell all that he has if he is to acquire

the gem which is worth the sacrifice of his entire collection. The man who has once put his hand to the plough must not take one glance backward. The sacred duties of home and sorrow are to be neglected if they cause a faltering in the resolution. The cross must be carried, the cup of tears drained, and the baptism of blood endured. And all the while the spirit of Christ's disciples must be the spirit of "little children." They must gain that second innocence which time and knowledge cannot tarnish or destroy. The life of a child is liberty found in dependence—dependence on the laws which further his natural development. He is at home when near his father. He can only leave his home to court an injury, so that the law that he may not leave it is no bondage. Within his home he makes his little pleasure-house. Within his home he is disciplined and taught. He compares no man with his father. He sees no separation. He does not think that he can be ever taken from the grasp of the hand into which he can put both his own; and any closing of the years to be spent within his home is not only undesired, but not even fancied in his thoughts. Such is to be the temper of the sons of our Father. There is nothing in Christ's words that bids us consecrate our manhood by making it effeminate, nor does He suggest that maturity is less fitted than infancy for the exercise of holiness. Christ's words suggest an environment where love is the fulfilling of God's law; and

life is marked by trust, and truth, and pureness. They speak of childhood's open vision; its undimmed delight in the mystery of existence; its ardent faith in something yet to come.

If this loyal and receptive mind constitutes a title to membership in the Kingdom of God, we are able to solve a problem which is much discussed. It is sometimes said that the union of Christians should be built, "not on the lines of dogma, but on the lines of loyalty to Christ." This statement, like many controversial statements, contains a false antithesis. If the statement means only that we ought to be as tolerant of an imperfectly realized creed as of an imperfectly attained practice, then it is right. The wish to be loyal to Christ outweighs both unconscious mistakes of intellect and unconscious faults of practice. A spirit of submission in the mind is better than a well-furnished theological department or a series of correct actions animated by a spirit of barter—actions which may be only a well-executed manœuvre, or even a grimace. But it is essential that this spirit of personal submission should be of such a nature as to issue intellectually in a right creed, and morally in holy conduct. An audience once asked of Jesus, "What shall we do, that we might work the works of God?" And He replied that the work which God required was that they should believe on Him whom God had sent. This was not a denunciation of righteousness. It only removed an artificial righteousness

in favour of a righteousness which was to be spontaneous. Immediately afterwards, Jesus enters upon an abstruse theological argument. The steps are very plain, the stages are gentle, and yet the dogmas are hard, and "from that time many of His disciples went back." This chapter puts no premium on thoughtless orthodoxy, no dry anathemas on thoughtful inquiry. But it shows that true-hearted loyalty to Him includes both the acceptance of His rule of life, and the acceptance of His dogmas. He is both our Pattern and our Authority. Some will always go back when He demands the sacrifice of their will. Others will always go back when He demands the sacrifice of their intellect. To the rest these sacrifices will appear a law of development. In the spirit of childhood these men depend on Christ. "Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life."

II.

Such is the Kingdom and its members. Its motive and its conditions are eternal, and beyond the touch of passing years. What is the relation of the Church to this Kingdom of God?

During the last few years it has been maintained by some Protestant controversialists that there is a fundamental distinction between the Church and the Kingdom. The chief exponent of this new distinction has been Ritschl, a German writer,

whose admirers believe him to have inaugurated "the theology of the future." It is held by this school, that St. Augustine is mainly responsible for the opinion that the Kingdom of God is identical with the Catholic Church. The scriptural view is asserted to be that the Kingdom of God is a purely spiritual association of Christian believers, realizing their supreme moral good by reciprocal actions in accordance with the law of love.

Jesus Christ has revealed the love of God, which is God's persevering will that we who resemble Him should arrive at our highest destination. Beholding this love, and listening to the revealed Word, men are provoked to that loving activity which makes them members of the Kingdom. The Kingdom is thus a revelation of what God set before Himself, the supreme good, and an invisible power, because love, its fundamental motive, is only recognized by a strictly religious instinct. On the other hand, it is asserted that the Church is the Society of believers considered from the point of view of their devotional exercises. The worship of God, and the institutions of that worship, are the marks of the Church, while the Kingdom has as its chief note "the reciprocal action of its members." The Church is the Society entrusted with the work of making the Kingdom an active force, but the limits of the two are not identical. By its three acts of prayer, preaching, and the administration of sacraments, the Church influences individuals, and gives them an increasing

inclination to conform to the moral end implied in the Kingdom of God. But the Church is not the Kingdom. We are told, indeed, that Plato cannot be included in the Church, but cannot be excluded from the Kingdom.

Unfortunately, England and Germany contain much theology that is prepared to welcome theories which advocate emancipation from the guidance of a visible and exclusive Catholic Church. Otherwise the fallibility of the Ritschlian argument would be at once apparent. In the New Testament the Church does not yield any precedence to the Kingdom of God. St. Paul's mind can hardly be described as "corroded with ecclesiasticism," but it would be difficult to surpass the magnificent terms in which he speaks of the Church. The Church is "the temple of God" in which His presence dwells. The Church at Corinth is destined to be presented as a pure bride to Christ. The Ephesians are told that the entire Church is to be presented to Christ without spot of sin or wrinkle of age. It is the body of Christ, without which He has been pleased to count Himself as incomplete. It is the fulness of Christ, which in a concrete and visible form displays the invisible perfection and sanctity of the incarnate Son, as He in His incarnation revealed in His bodily form the attributes of the eternal Father. Baur, with the accurate insight which he possessed when his mind was not blurred by his passion for romance, said that in *Ephesians* Christ is substantially the

centre of "the corporate life that is developed in the Christian Church," and that "the material conception of the Catholic Church"¹ is contained in this Epistle. The conception is indeed so Catholic that Baur declares it could not have been entertained by the apostle, but was a theory borrowed from the Gnostics, and a proof that the Epistle is a forgery.

The doctrine that the Church is the fulness of the incarnate Son of God may appear to sceptics like Baur "a Gnostic representation," but no Christian is justified in eliminating it from his theology. And it is the Church whose members by reciprocal love grow into Christ, "from Whom all the body fitly framed and knit together, through that which every joint supplieth, according to the working in *due* measure of each several part, maketh the increase of the body unto the building up of itself in love." It may be urged that St. Paul refers only to the transcendent and future Church. This is verbally correct, but it is not the whole truth, any more than it would be the whole truth to say that he means the divine Kingdom to be simply transcendent and future. When he says that "the Kingdom of God is not in word, but in power," and again, that "the Kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost," he speaks of divine regulating principles which are leavening this present world. And just as he does not divide

¹ *Paul*, vol. ii., p. 177 (Eng. trans.).

the Kingdom into a transitory and a permanent section, so he does not divide the Church into a present and a transcendent department. He gives the visible Church on earth the attributes of unity, universality, and sanctity, which belong to Christ's conception of the Kingdom.¹ It was "*the Church*" which he had persecuted; in it "there is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor freeman"; it is composed of persons who, in so far as they are members of a Church "without blemish," are "saints."

We therefore conclude that St. Paul would not have felt morally at ease with a theology that represents the Church as secondary in importance to the Kingdom. It remains to inquire the reason why the idea of the Kingdom somewhat recedes into the background in the Epistles of the New Testament. Those who assign to the Church a secondary importance may find a cheap reason in the hypothesis that the disciples did not grasp so spiritual an idea as that promulgated by Christ. But in the Gospel of St. Matthew Christ is represented as twice speaking of the Church. When an appeal is made to these passages, we are sometimes

¹ The difficulty of combining the Pauline and the Ritschlian doctrine may be illustrated by the statements of Dr. Bruce, the Presbyterian theologian. He says that for both Christ and St. Paul "the Kingdom possesses a certain transcendental character not belonging to the Church." Immediately afterwards he modifies the statement by saying that St. Paul "desired ever to invest the Church with the attributes of the divine Kingdom." *St. Paul's Conception of Christianity*, p. 366.

told that they have crept into the Gospel at a later date. However, the statement has not yet been burdened with any proof, so we may treat it as too light to disturb our adhesion to the texts.

In one passage Christ speaks of the moral discipline of the Church. If one brother sin against another, the man who has been wronged is to do his best to rescue the offender from his selfishness. He is to plead with him privately ; then, if necessary, before one or two witnesses ; and if the sinner be still obdurate, the Church is to be informed. If he refuse to hear the Church, he is to be considered as having put himself outside the precincts of the Society. Now, it is quite unnecessary either to say that the passage is a forgery, or to say that it refers to a Rabbinical congregation of ten men appointed to deal with religious questions. The passage does not occur early in Christ's ministry, or at a time when developed teaching would be out of place. St. Matthew places it late in His ministry, and in the course of an instruction to the disciples on the principles of the Kingdom. It is placed, moreover, after the passage in which Christ says that He will build His Church on the rock of Peter.

This latter passage is of the utmost importance. It represents a crisis in the ministry of our Lord. He has been obliged to warn His disciples against the leaven of the Pharisees and Sadducees. He has to break with the past. So He seeks for a new foundation on which the edifice of faith shall

rise. He finds it in St. Peter, who had assented to His Messianic claim and acknowledged His divine Sonship. And He rewards his confession by granting him a precedence in his designation to the apostolic office. "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church ; and the gates of Hades shall not prevail against it. I will give unto thee the keys of the Kingdom of heaven : and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven ; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." Shortly afterwards our Lord made the same promise of absolving power to all the apostles. But, for the present, the fact that others are to share the promise is not mentioned. St. Peter is singled out to be the leader of a new Society. This Society is called by Christ both Church and Kingdom. The Church is represented as a house that will survive all revolutions. It is a mansion which is only opened at the will of those who, in the visible and established organization of the inmates, have received the right to give access to others. Christ teaches the same truth by another metaphor in the last chapter of St. John's Gospel. There our Lord bids St. Peter use the apostolic commission and leadership which has been bestowed upon him. He is to feed Christ's lambs, and to tend His sheep. Christ is Himself the Good Shepherd, as He is the Foundation. Nevertheless, He confides to human agency the exercise of His own functions. After His departure the flock will be

always His, separated from all others. But the sheep are related to one another, not only in virtue of their divine Owner, but also in virtue of their human director.

Jesus took other means to prevent the idea of the Kingdom being spiritualized away. He expressly provided for the institution and maintenance of exterior forms. New rites are to replace the old. New bottles are to be provided for the "wine that's meant for souls." This saying of His is apparently earlier than any mention of the Church, and is a preparation for a more complete disclosure. This disclosure was made when He appointed Baptism to be the means of introduction into the Church, and the Eucharist to be the means of perpetuating the life of the believer. For these sacraments do much more than provide Christians with symbols which testify their faith. They involve the reciprocal action of love between Christians and their identification with God's eternal purpose. They belong not only to the Church, but to that Kingdom which cannot be entered except by one "born of water and of the Spirit."

If this be true, then it was not St. Augustine, but our Lord, who first identified the Church and the Kingdom. And the reason why the Epistles of the New Testament prefer the former term is not to be found in the misconception of the writers. The reason is philological, and not doctrinal. Our Lord found the expression "Kingdom

of heaven" as current coin. It had been debased, but it represented something of value. It represented the coming of the Messiah and the revelation of God. Christ did not employ it without a caution. Only a few, He said, were as yet able to understand the mysteries of the Kingdom. They were too deep for the ordinary Jew. Nevertheless, the expression was one through which He could communicate with them. But in the Greek world it was otherwise. To have spoken in Athens or Corinth of the Kingdom of God would have been, at first, like speaking of Nirvâna to an English peasant. On the other hand, the word "Ekklesia," like the word "Logos" employed by St. John, carried a real meaning both to Greek and to Jewish ears. To the Jew it recalled the ancient congregation passing through the desert to the promised land; to the Greek it suggested a convoked and representative body of men. The word had Christ's sanction. It could embrace any idea of ordered government or strenuous holiness which the word "Kingdom" had implied. Therefore the apostles employed it. There is no difference between the visible Church and the organized Kingdom. If there be a distinction, it is that the Kingdom is the Society of the Messiah, and the Church the Society of the Incarnate Son. And this, in Christian eyes, is a distinction without a difference.

We find it necessary to offer an explanation of our use of the term "visible Church." Theologians

admit that those who are prevented by inevitable circumstances from being in communion with the Church's organization may nevertheless be in union with Christ, and at one with the Church in spirit. It is disappointing to see the misunderstandings which still exist upon this point. Dr. Fairbairn, the eminent Congregationalist, hotly opposes the Catholic doctrine that the Church must have one visible polity. To do this, he quotes the Reformers who did not affirm that there were two Churches, but held that the visible Church is related to an inward Church as the body is to the soul. He knows this distinction between the body and the soul of the Church was made by Augustine, who is now accused of having invented the Catholic conception of the Church. But the distinction is also retained by such decided Anglicans as Dr. Percival, in his *Digest of Theology*, and Dr. Pusey. It is quite unquestioned by Roman authorities. It is asserted by Père Gratry in his *Philosophie du Credo*¹ and by the Jesuit theologian Perrone, in a treatise which has become a manual for Roman Catholic seminarists. The latter elaborates the doctrine, and affirms that those who seek the truth, yet through a mistake remain outside the Church, are not formally outside it. Gratry says, "There is a body and a soul of the Church. There is the visible Church and the invisible Church." And again, "A man can belong to the soul of the Church without belonging

¹ Page 184.

to its body, and can belong to its body without belonging to its soul." And that this doctrine is not a mere arabesque of ingenious theologians is shown by the simple vigour with which it is presented by Mr. Coventry Patmore.¹ It is therefore plain that Dr. Fairbairn is culpably mistaken when he says that the phrase "The Invisible Church"—St. Augustine would have said "the interior Church" or "the soul of the Church"—is a phrase "which it is the custom of Catholic, especially neo-Catholic, writers elaborately to despise and to misunderstand."²

III.

It remains to be considered whether the visible Church does not require a united visible organization. Before the Reformation every local Church

¹ *The Rod, the Root, and the Flower*, p. 187.

² *Christ in Modern Theology*, p. 541. The phrase was even admitted by Dr. Newman, although in his desire to use rigorously Scriptural language he would use no phrase that implied that the unbaptized were members of the Church. See *Parochial and Plain Sermons*, vol. iii. p. 224: "Whether we speak of the Church as invisibly blest and succoured, or as triumphant hereafter, or in relation to its true members, who are its substantial support and glory, we may allowably make mention of the Invisible Church. But if we conceive of the Invisible as one, and the Visible as another, as if there were one body without spiritual privileges, of good and bad together, and another of good only, with spiritual privileges, surely we speak without warrant, or rather without leave of Holy Scripture." The teaching of Père Gratry is that only those guilty by their own fault of unbelief or heresy are excluded from the invisible Church.

in Christendom assumed that the Christian ministry of bishop, priest, and deacon, was descended by an unbroken succession from the apostles, and that this ministry was essential to the very existence of the Church. Since that period it has been denied in some quarters that this ministry is of apostolic origin. As to what was the original form of the ministry, hostile critics are much divided. According to those who claim to be most "scientific," the apostles, even if they received peculiar powers from Christ, left no such powers to their successors. The local Churches were democratic clubs, which "assumed the characteristics of the associations of the pagan world," choosing bishops who were really bursars, elected to superintend the finance of almsgiving. The presbyter of any Jewish community which became converted to Christianity remained a presbyter with no need of an ordination from the apostles, while the presbyters of the Gentile Christians were simply a governing council of senior men deputed by the congregation to administer moral discipline.

But such theories have to reckon with the account of the Christian hierarchy contained in the New Testament, and this reckoning has involved such difficulties that it has created a considerable bias against the authenticity of the Acts of the Apostles and of the Epistles of St. Paul to Timothy and Titus. In Rationalistic circles it has commonly been stated the author of the Acts "puts into the mouth of all the representatives of the Gospel in the apostolic

age, the doctrine of his own age." In other words, he falsifies history in order to obliterate the antagonism of the Gentile and Jewish sections of the primitive Church. The author's age is placed by Dr. Martineau and others in the second decade of the second century, though it is admitted that he incorporated a document written by a companion of St. Paul. It is not concealed that a guiding reason for assigning this late date is that the book has "hierarchical tendencies." In the words of Dr. Martineau, "its representation of Christian affairs approaches visibly nearer the settled existence of a society no longer provisional, but rapidly passing into the Catholic Church of history."¹

Precisely the same charge is brought against St. Paul's Epistles to Timothy and Titus. The latter, said M. Renan, "is already quite Catholic, a true type of the ecclesiastical spirit." He admits that Epistles universally considered Pauline enforce a hierarchy, but he regards the Pastoral Epistles as pamphlets forged to furnish decisive arguments for that teaching.

The task before us therefore is to investigate the writings of the second century with a view to discovering whether they tend to prove that the Christian hierarchy is of apostolic institution, and at the same time to use their evidence on this question in support of the early date of the Acts and the Pastoral Epistles. For the sake of clearness I

¹ *Seat of Authority in Religion*, p. 257.

will use the words bishop and episcopacy in their modern sense, and use *episkopos* in the sense which it bears in the Pauline Epistles, where it is roughly, if not precisely, equivalent to presbyter.

It is admitted that by A.D. 170 the organization of the Church everywhere implied the existence of bishops who ruled their several communities.¹ This is held by Professor Ramsay, who thinks that the *episkopos* "was only a presbyter on whom certain duties had been imposed," and that, in virtue of "proved aptness," these duties were left in his hands, so that the *episkopos* became a bishop by a gradual process. M. Renan also admits the universality of bishops at this date. He says that "when Hegesippus makes his journey across Christendom in the second half of the second century, he sees nothing but bishops; everything with him is a question of canonical succession."² That half-century was an age of perplexities and disputes. And yet the same form of ecclesiastical government prevailed in Rome, Lyons, Athens, Corinth, and Smyrna. We may be convinced that this was not the result of chance, but that the system rested on some respected authority of an earlier time. And we have evidence for this in the writings of the first half of the second century.

The first writer from whom I will quote is St. Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna. About the year

¹ Professor Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 363.

² *L'Église Chrétienne*, p. 90.

110 he wrote to the Philippians an answer to their request that his messenger might take a letter from them to the Church of Antioch, which had just been deprived of its bishop, Ignatius. The Epistle of Polycarp shows that the writer distinguished himself from the presbyters of his Church. He says, "Polycarp and the presbyters with him," and he writes in the first person. But he speaks of no bishop at Philippi, only bidding the Philippians obey "the presbyters and deacons as God and Christ." This is sometimes construed to imply that Philippi was under presbyterian government only. But unless there be positive evidence to show that the fact of Philippi not being the seat of a superior official is equivalent to the Philippians being under no such superior official at all, we are free to reject this construction absolutely. At a later date than this, Irenæus still called the bishops of Rome "presbyters," and so the "presbyters" in Polycarp's letter may include a superior either localized at Philippi or not. That such a superior existed is rendered more than probable by the evidence contained in the writings of St. Ignatius.

St. Ignatius is explicit, so explicit that the authenticity of his letters has been vehemently attacked. It has been felt to be inconvenient that a martyr of the beginning of the second century should regard episcopal authority as the centre of order and the guarantee of unity in the Church. The authenticity of his letters is, however, beyond

suspicion, and they show that a clear difference existed between the bishop and the presbyter. The word *episkopos* is not used here in the sense which it bears in the writings of St. Paul, but is equivalent to bishop. The word has moved a step higher, just as in colloquial English the word "curate" has moved a step lower. A careful consideration of the meaning which it bears in these letters might have saved St. Jerome and some modern controversialists from arguing that a presbyter is essentially the same as a bishop on the ground that to St. Paul the words *episkopos* and presbyter were synonymous.¹ The argument is exegetically correct, but historically false; just as it would be exegetically correct to argue that the word "curate" in the Anglican Prayer-book means one entrusted with the cure of souls, and historically false to say that it means this in a modern newspaper.

It may be urged that St. Ignatius is not a historian but a preacher, that he foresees the usefulness of episcopacy for consolidating the Church, and desires to win recognition for a new development. But St. Ignatius also insists on obedience to the presbyters, and no one pretends that he is arguing for the recognition of presbyters.

¹ This argument is revived in a widely read and generally impartial Presbyterian manual, in which it is said that the Presbyterian Church of Scotland "has the witness of scholarship that Bishop and Presbyter were originally interchangeable terms, and that Episcopacy is simply 'a phase of Presbytery.'" Mr. Muir, *Church of Scotland*, p. 95.

They are an existing and respected order. So are the bishops. He declares them to be essential to the existence of a Church, to be established to the boundaries of the earth, and his whole tone is against the idea that the bishop is simply a presbyter in special circumstances.

This position is not contradicted, but supported, by the *Shepherd* of Hermas. The date of this somewhat bizarre and fanciful treatise is disputed. If the Muratorian fragment be correct, the *Shepherd* may be dated about A.D. 140. Probably, however, its date is quite early in the second century. M. Renan wished to place its composition somewhat later than the middle of that century, but believed that the author meant to date the action of the story at the end of the first century. M. Renan declared that there is in the *Shepherd* "no trace of episcopacy," and added that the author seems to be one of those who opposed the growing institution. He thought this institution to be signified by the word *protokathedria*, or "chief seat," while he regarded the *proegoumenoi* as the presbyters. It is impossible to see any consistency in these statements of M. Renan. The author of the *Shepherd* plainly distinguishes the *proegoumenoi* from the *protokathedritai*. If the former be, as M. Renan thought, the presbyters, then it will almost certainly follow that the *protokathedritai* are the bishops. Moreover the author also speaks of *episkopoi*, whom he mentions next to the apostles. If,

the Jewish ministry is repeated in the Christian Church. He also speaks of "approved men" being appointed to succeed the apostles, men who themselves appointed presbyters.

Light is thrown upon his meaning by the *Didache*, a work coming from a Jewish Christian community, and probably older than this letter of Clement. It tells us of a localized ministry which consisted of *episkopoi* and deacons. But above this local ministry are the "prophets," who are also called "highpriests," and who, though peripatetic ministers of the Gospel, have the right to settle where they will. They take a prominent part in the celebration of the liturgy, as in Acts xiii. 2. The *Didache* does not mention the "laying-on of hands," but as St. Clement unites with the writer of the Acts in implying that the appointment of ministers is from above, and as such an appointment is quite consistent with the *Didache*, the omission need cause no perplexity. The discovery of the *Didache* has not in the least invalidated the statement of M. Renan, who says, "The idea that the president of the Church holds his commission from the members of the Church who have nominated him, is not manifested once in the literature of this epoch."

We now draw near to our conclusion. We saw that one reason why the Acts has been assailed is that it contains "hierarchical tendencies." It is therefore plain that all evidence confirming the early date of the Acts tells fatally against the

critics hostile to the Catholic ministry. This confirming evidence is continually on the increase. In the above brief discussion I have ventured to differ from some statements on the ministry made by Professor Ramsay in *The Church in the Roman Empire*. But every student owes him a profound debt for showing that the Book of Acts bristles with details true to the life and history of the first century, and that any theory adverse to this fact is "an outrage on criticism." The Acts can be proved by internal witness to be a work of supreme historical value, and this witness is supported by external evidence touching the ministry. This evidence coincides with the Acts in showing that the presbyter or *episkopos* was always under the control of a superior. This control was vested first in the apostles, and then, as Clement tells us, in "approved men," known under various titles, until they were given the name of *episkopos*, which name was henceforth withdrawn from the presbyters. As to the "usefulness" of the superior order, it will be sufficient to quote M. Renan. He says, "It is incontestable that without the episcopate the Churches united for a moment by the recollection of Jesus would have been dispersed. . . . Christianity would have come to an end at the close of three or four hundred years, like Mithraism and so many other sects, to which it has not been given to vanquish time." ¹

It is not unreasonable to suppose that the

¹ *Conférences d'Angleterre*, pp. 161, 162.

apostles, foreseeing this, established a ministry afterwards to be known as the episcopate. This episcopate, as it existed in the second century, can alone explain the less regular and less developed ministry described in the pages of the New Testament, just as the New Testament explains to us the phenomena presented by the ministry described by St. Ignatius. In breaking with this ministry the recent communities, whether Presbyterian or Congregationalist, have organized "specific polities" of their own. Their action in this matter is now defended on a peculiar dogmatic ground distinct from any historical thesis. It is taught by Dr. Fairbairn, who is followed by Dr. Denney in his valuable *Studies in Theology*. He says that "particular Churches, with their specific polities, do not break the unity of the Catholic Church visible, while their faith and love constitute the unity of the invisible."¹ What has caused the genesis of such a paradox? The late Dr. Dale, the most distinguished of English Congregationalists, has fortunately supplied us with an answer. He says, "The Evangelical movement contributed to the extinction among Congregationalists, and, I think, among Baptists and Presbyterians, of that solicitude for an ideal Church organization which had so large a place in the original revolt of the Nonconformists. . . . It demanded as the basis of fellowship a common religious life and common religious beliefs, but was

¹ Dr. Fairbairn, *Christ in Modern Theology*, p. 547.

satisfied with fellowship of an accidental and precarious kind. It cared nothing for the idea of the Church as the august Society of saints. It was the ally of Individualism.”¹

The explanation given by Dr. Dale is indisputable, although he has apparently overlooked the fact that the term “Nonconformity” did not originally apply to communities separated from the Church of England, but to a movement within it.² The first English Dissenters defended their peculiar organizations on the ground that they had the express sanction of the New Testament. Some of them were logical enough to deny the validity of the ministry and sacraments of the English Church. Their descendants grew indifferent to organization, and at the close of the eighteenth century were recruited by large numbers who were equally indifferent, or even regarded divided organizations as the ideal creation of freedom. At the best valuation they commonly thought that

¹ *The Old Evangelicalism and the New*, pp. 16, 17.

² The modern use of the word “Nonconformist” is often misleading, as it supplies our Dissenters with a genealogy which is for the majority of them fictitious. See Canon Dixon, *History of the Church of England*, vol. iii. p. 186. The party which advocated Nonconformity was openly opposed to the party which preferred Separation. This opposition lasted until the Commonwealth. After the Act of Uniformity of 1662 the name “Nonconformist” was given to those ministers who refused adherence to the Act. Dr. South (*Sermons*, vol. v. ser. 12) consequently speaks of Separatists, Dissenters, and Nonconformists as identical. For an account of the Elizabethan Separatists who made “the original revolt” from the Church, see *The Church Quarterly Review*, vol. xxxvi. p. 463.

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organization was a matter "to be decided by saved people." Having glided into this position, Dissenters are now following the example of Ultramontane Roman Catholics, and are endeavouring to slide in a dogmatic basis under their position. The Ultramontane is trying to prove that no one could ever have been a true member of the visible Church who was not subject to the pope. The Dissenter is trying to prove that any one can be a true member of the visible Church so long as he is subject to the "saved people" who agree with his suggestions in creating their "particular Church."

The New Testament knows nothing of "particular Churches" in the sense intended by Dr. Fairbairn. It recognizes local Churches, a visible universal Church, and the ideal Church which is the completion of the latter; but it has nothing about particular churches with specific polities. It knows nothing of any form of government independent of the apostles commissioned by Christ. Even Dr. Fairbairn's analogy from civil politics is entirely beside the mark. "France," he says, "has tried many polities, but still remains France."¹ This analogy is meant to suggest that Christ's people can determine the organization of the Church. But the Church is not a democracy, but an absolute monarchy under Jesus Christ. It would cease to be the Church if it could organize itself in a polity which had not evolved from His appointment. The Papacy has never arrogated to itself

¹ *Christ in Modern Theology*, p. 539.

an authority equal to the jurisdiction given by Dr. Fairbairn to the people. And even if we suppose that the Christian people has this power, the analogy still fails. Would France remain France if a monarchy were established at Quimper with its peculiar laws and an official Breton language, a republic at Paris, and a Provençal empire at Avignon? That is what the theory of "specific polities" would do for Christendom, with the difference that the divisions would be nearer three hundred than three.

In protesting against this paradox of "modern theology," I will respectfully quote the words of Dr. Lyman Abbott, a leading American minister. "The glory of God in His Church is not best seen by breaking it up into bits, each with its own peculiar shape and peculiar colour, tumbled promiscuously together and showing a new pattern with every turn of the kaleidoscope. The Church described in the New Testament is a tree, rooted and grounded in Christ; a body, Christ the Head; a household, Christ the Father; a kingdom, Christ the King."¹ Christians under episcopal government will accept these words with gratitude, even though they differ widely from some conclusions of the writer. No Anglican denies the operations of the Spirit beyond the borders of the visible Church. No educated Anglican desires a uniformity of worship. In England, Scotland, and America our various liturgies, though not perfect

¹ *Evolution of Christianity*, p. 172.

or "incomparable," have the merit of reflecting the different aspirations of each race. But every society needs officers to administer its powers, and we desire unity under an administration which does not express only the Teutonic love of home and self-government, or the Roman genius for imposing peace, but is adapted at once to both these lofty principles. We believe this to be found only in the system which develops and maintains the ministry created by Jesus Christ. It has the testimony of durability, and gains the approval of many imitations. It will continue till the Church of the first Pentecost becomes the great multitude which no man can number before the throne of the Lamb.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE SACRAMENTS.

The sacramental system means something, or it means nothing. It is true, or it is false. The English Evangelicals used to answer in clear, ringing tones for the second alternative. There was no playing with words, no sentiment, no mystification. They insisted sternly and firmly that material forms were not and could not be a connecting link between God and the human soul.—MR. J. A. FROUDE, *Conditions and Prospects of Protestantism*.

AMONG the conditions of the Christian life are certain institutions which Christ formally made a part of His religion, and which are now known as Sacraments. To a large extent it would be true to say that the human race, as it grows more thoughtful, becomes more sacramental in its thought. This is shown by our modern way of regarding nature. St. Antony the hermit said that nature was his book, and we have realized a portion of his spirit. The elements make to us an "unalterable imaginative appeal," and this appeal we endeavour to interpret, finding a secret sympathy between the soul of man and the soul of the world. In the Greek and Roman poets this sympathy was far rarer than it is at present. They were able to describe nature in lines that are

exquisite in melody and lightness, where waters tinkle and forests whisper. But any intimate interpretation of nature was seldom desired or attempted. It is a later generation that has so linked itself with nature's works as to say—

Thanks to the human heart by which we live,
Thanks to its tenderness, its joys, and fears,
To me the meanest flower that blows can give
Thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears.

This advance in thought need not be rejected as involving too nice a self-dissection. It means that we have gained a more abiding sense of the connexion between the natural and the spiritual sphere. It is in perfect harmony with the increased scientific knowledge which enables us to discover and adapt the forces which were once unknown. The wire that conveys a brilliant light, the lever that can move a mass of granite, contain something of the nature of a Sacrament. And as soon as we direct attention to the origin and maintenance of our life, we become still more conscious of this principle. A corporeal generation brings into existence a mortal body with an immortal soul, the renewal of our natural powers depends on food, medicine may restore reflection to a mind diseased, and our reason is quickened by the speech we hear.

In fact, to escape from Sacraments, it would be necessary to escape from life ; and the Incarnation, which the Fathers of the Church were wont to call a Sacrament, only expressed a law which was as

old as the existence of man himself. The incarnate Christ was "full of grace and truth"; and by this phrase, St. John meant much more than that Jesus was taught and guarded by the Father. Emerson, in his little poem on "Grace," has said—

How much, preventing God ! how much I owe
To the defences Thou hast round me set :
Example, custom, fear, occasion slow,—
These scornèd bondmen were my parapet.

But grace is more than the sum of all these blessings. It is the unearned good will and loving-kindness of God to man. It bestows on man the energy of divine life and love deposited in Jesus Christ. It imparts to man a new vital force; for men, who are by nature the offspring of God, are by grace organically united with the incarnate Son. So that we find Christ appears to His apostles to be not merely historical, but always contemporary. He has passed not into cessation, but into themselves. They possess an inward Christ, and this union with Him is effected by the Holy Spirit. The dream of the great Italian mystic, Joachim di Flora, that the present age of Christ would be succeeded by a better age—the age of the Spirit—is quite contrary to the mysticism of the New Testament. The Spirit is not the substitute for an absent Christ, but the vehicle of His invisible presence. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost are inseparable.

Now the opposition between matter and spirit is due not to God, but to man, and the Holy Spirit

Himself wrought the conception of the material body of Christ. It is therefore consonant with the essence of Christianity that the Holy Ghost should act upon the human spirit through material means.¹ This is foreshadowed by Christ's own words. Baptism is in the name of the Spirit as well as in His own; a man must be born "of water and the Spirit." He tells His disciples that, in consequence of the Spirit's advent, "ye shall live also," though He had previously said that this promised life was to be sustained by eating His flesh and drinking His blood. There is therefore no inconsistency in maintaining that union with Christ is effected solely through the Holy Ghost, and at the same time that gifts of divine grace are infused through the Sacraments. St. Paul does not hesitate to teach that Baptism unites us with Christ, His Death, and His Resurrection; and he nevertheless teaches that the life of the second Adam is in the believer through the Spirit of God. He describes the reception of the Eucharist as the partaking of the blood and

¹ See the fine passage in Mr. Froude's essay on *The Philosophy of Catholicism*. The talented author here wrote, "The carnal doctrine of the sacraments, which Protestants are compelled to acknowledge to have been taught as fully in the early Church as it is now taught by the Roman Catholics, has long been the stumbling-block to modern thought. It was the very essence of the original creed. Unless the body could be purified, the soul could not be saved; because, from the beginning, soul and flesh were one man and inseparable." (The word *carnal* is here unscientifically used to describe the doctrine that by the Sacraments God "doth work invisibly in us.") In his later essays, Mr. Froude denounced this "beautiful creed" of the "early Church."

of the body of Christ, and nevertheless teaches that the Spirit keeps each member of the Church in vital contact with the Head.

Baptism, then, is the Christian's adoption. To the baptized Christian the Death and Resurrection of Jesus are no longer simply external events, but part of his own history. Before the Incarnation, sin had a permanent hold upon human nature ; but the sinless manhood of Jesus offers the possibility of freedom. By "one Baptism for the remission of sins," which can no more be repeated than our physical birth, we are brought into communication with the human nature of Christ. Independently of ourselves, God brought us into the world, and therefore we need not wonder if, independently of ourselves, He brings us into the new sphere of being which we have "in Christ." But as our natural life has to be maintained by efforts of our own, so the supernatural life will not be maintained without our co-operation. And this leads us to consider an apparent contradiction by which St. Paul enforces a most important truth. On the one hand, the Christian is told that he is a "new creature," with the old disposition already "crucified" or "dead." On the other hand, he is told that he needs to be "renewed day by day," and to "cleanse" himself, and to "make dead" his natural inclination to sin. The double teaching is meant to show the Christian his true relation to his ideal. It neither lessens nor exaggerates the distance between the Christian and what he desires to be.

St. Paul does not, like Muhammad, gain converts by presenting an ideal which is so low as to be within an easy reach of all men ; nor does he, like some modern preachers, assure his converts that they are securely saved, with a one-sided urgency which renders them indifferent to progress. He teaches the baptized that they are baptized "into Christ," and that this great ideal is already theirs, and can be claimed, and yet is still practically in advance of them, a vision to humble and to inspire. Their spirit is already sanctified, but this sanctity has to be extended into every faculty and affection of the natural life.

Christian teaching with regard to the new birth is still beset by some popular misapprehensions. It is perceived that this teaching assumes a real sinfulness in each child that is born, and the supposition is made that Christianity teaches that the first man, before his fall, was in a state of Christian perfection, and that the guilt of his transgression was capriciously passed on by God to his descendants. The first of these suppositions, which was largely reinforced by Milton's majestic poetry, is completely excluded by the language of St. Paul. His distinction between Adam as a "living soul," and Christ as the "life-giving Spirit," and, indeed, the whole passage in which this distinction occurs, would lose all its force if the writer had not recognized that Christ opened a development in nature far beyond the innocence of Adam. As to the supposition that God regards us as guilty

of Adam's fault, it is also excluded by St. Paul. He keeps a distinction between "sin," the general tendency to evil, and "transgression," a definite defiance of a known law. He represents men as inheriting a tendency which causes them to be "children of wrath" from their birth. By this he means that, even before a child is conscious of the fact, the natural play of the forces of his "flesh" acts as an impediment to his "spirit," and, as such, is under the displeasure of God. His "flesh" inherits a taint which the Church, in later times, called "original sin." God does not transfer guilt to the innocent; He simply recognizes an existing tendency, and remedies it by engrafting a new power. This new power counteracts the effects of that "death" which is "the wages of sin." For "death" in the Book of Genesis, and in the writings of St. Paul, is a punishment of slow and terrible significance. It is a symbol of that annihilation which is courted by every one who by his sin withdraws himself from God, the source of life, and it is the instrument of weakening man's activity by severing his body from his soul. But the regenerate, who is "renewed day by day," finds the sting of death removed, and rests beneath the shadow of that tree before which the cherubim have ceased to turn "the flame of a sword."

Before leaving the subject of Baptism, we may notice the misapprehension that the doctrine of the Church condemns all the unbaptized to eternal torment. The Christian Church has recognized

that God, in imparting life to a man, can act independently of certain laws which He has commanded us to obey. It has never formulated a universal statement with regard to the unbaptized, and has always numbered the repentant Magdalene, the dying thief, and the martyred innocents among the saintly and the saved. With regard to unbaptized infants, it is sufficient to recall the teaching of St. Thomas Aquinas, still further developed by Cajetan, that they enjoy the natural happiness of which they are capable. Even this teaching seems to fall short of the sympathy of Jesus, who says that in judging "all the nations"—the usual word for designating the heathen—He will welcome into life eternal the compassionate and self-denying.¹

Life cannot be defined except in terms which are not intelligible apart from a conception of life. But though life can hardly be defined, we know its marks, and we know that life requires food. It is therefore right to consider the *Eucharist* next to Baptism. With regard to this Sacrament, many Christians have fallen into an opinion more consonant with Judaism than Christianity. Numbers of people have half-unconsciously adopted the theory of the belligerent Swiss reformer Zwingli, that the New Testament teaches that the Sacrament of Christ's body and blood is only a symbol of Christ's death and of the social unity of Christians. And it is astonishing to find so profound a thinker as the late Mr. Green, in his "lay sermon" called *The*

¹ *St. Matt.* xxv. 32, ff.

Witness of God, writing as if this were the natural interpretation, and apparently confusing the Sacrament with the *agape*, the simple social meal which some of the early Christians ate together on days when the Sacrament was administered. If this view were correct, then an eminent Unitarian would be perfectly right in speaking of the Lord's Supper as having "degenerated" into a Sacrament, and its observance would only claim from us a similar respect to that paid by a loyal collegian to the custom of handing round a grace-cup on college festivals. Such a view does the greatest violence to the writings of the apostles and the earliest Fathers. To exalt a mere ceremony to so prominent a position as to consider themselves bound to its weekly observance, would have meant a return to that very bondage of ceremonialism from which they believed themselves to have been delivered by Christ. St. Paul and St. Justin Martyr alike use language which permits us to be sure that they regarded the Eucharist as a symbol, but forbids us to suppose that they halted at that opinion. To them it is a symbol which actually conveys what it represents. In the words of the English formularies it is to them an "effectual sign of grace," by which the body and the blood of Christ are "verily and indeed taken."¹ And this belief is the only

¹ We may notice the great care with which the English Catechism distinguishes the character of Baptism from that of the Lord's Supper. Both Sacraments are described as having an "inward spiritual grace"; but while in the case of Baptism this grace is explained as the gift of a new force, it is in the case of the Lord's

belief consistent with the discourse recorded by St. John, in which Christ asserts that He is the bread of life. Christ there affirms that "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man and drink His blood, ye have not life in yourselves"; and finally explains that, although ordinary flesh "profiteth nothing," a supernatural efficacy does belong to the "quickening Spirit"—that is, His divine Person, first incarnate, and afterwards glorified by the Resurrection and the Ascension of which He has just spoken. The essential nature of the Master is to pass into and become the essential nature of the servant.¹ In spite of the perplexity which this discourse brought to the Jews, Christ made no attempt to relieve their minds by explaining that His language was only symbolical; and at the next Passover, exactly a year afterwards, He showed His disciples how this substance of His flesh was to be assimilated, when He spoke the words, "Take, eat; this is My body." Here there is no magical salvation by a symbol or a theory, but an antidote proposed which every man can test.

It is much to be regretted that, during part of the Middle Ages, it became usual to employ language about the Eucharist which implied that the body of Christ in the Sacrament is subject to natural

Supper explained to be the gift of those realities which convey a new force. Baptism comprises two things: the outward sign and the inward grace. The Lord's Supper comprises three things: the outward sign, the inward part, and "the benefits whereof we are partakers thereby."

¹ Compare *Ecce Homo*, p. 176.

laws, language which was forgetful that such flesh would "profit nothing." This materialistic view was strengthened by legends asserting that Jews and unbelievers had pierced the consecrated Sacrament in derision, and been divinely rebuked by the appearances of Christ's blood in the gashes—legends of which a trace still apparently survives in the rustic superstition that it is unlucky to leave a knife in a loaf of bread. The late Cardinal Newman, speaking on behalf of the present Roman Catholic community, carefully denied that the sacramental body of Christ was subject to material laws; and the same denial was intended by Bishop Geste of Rochester, who wrote the Anglican Article on the Lord's Supper. Geste was charged by Cheney, bishop of Gloucester, with ignoring the Presence of Christ in the Sacrament by saying that His body is eaten "only after an heavenly and spiritual manner." Thereupon Geste wrote to Cecil an earnest protest against such an interpretation of his words, and said, "I told him plainly that this word *only* in the aforesaid Article did not exclude the Presence of Christ's body from the Sacrament, but only the grossness and the sensibleness in the receiving thereof." It is therefore certain that the compiler of the Anglican Article did not mean that after consecration the bread and wine merely served the purpose of symbols, or even that they were simply title-deeds conveying to the soul the blessing of God and the benefits of the Passion.¹

¹ The latter view is that taken by Dr. Moule, in his *Outlines*

He believed the outward forms to be united to an unseen Presence of Christ, and that this Presence of Christ was there unaffected by the laws which govern the ordinary human body. At that period a large number of Englishmen did not share his moderation. Some, like Cardinal Pole, believed that Christ's body was present in the Sacrament in a sensuous, though invisible, manner; others, in reaction, inclined to the theory of the Protestant Bucer, that the body is not present in the Sacrament, but that the faith of the worthy recipient causes it to be present in his own heart.¹

Whatever superstitions have been connected with the Sacrament of the altar, it has proved the earthly centre of true religion. It has singularly fostered a personal devotion to Christ, and the social and spiritual union for which His Church

of Christian Doctrine, p. 262. "The Elements which He ordained to represent validly to His true disciples His Body as slain for them, and His Blood as shed for them, now eighteen centuries ago, are most truly 'there,' as His warrant and conveyance to their faith of all the benefits of the Passion. *In that sense*, the Body and the Blood are there, and in no other sense at all revealed." Dr. Moule's explanation of the Article would have been less misleading if he had referred his readers to the words of Geste.

¹ There are grounds for believing that Bucer's view was held by the authors of Article XXIX., which affirms that the wicked are "in no wise partakers of Christ." Nevertheless, this Article, while excluding mediæval errors, is very similar to the opinions of some of the best Roman Catholic theologians. Thomassin says, "Although it is inserted into the teeth and mouth, nevertheless the Bread of heaven, that is the Word of God, is not eaten except by believing: for not even the vehicle itself, or true flesh of Christ, as flesh of the Word and conveying all sanctity, is eaten except by believing." *De Incarnat. Verò.*, lib. x., cap. 30, § 13.

exists. The spread of Unitarianism in America, and the growth of the English sects which exaggerated every form of individualism, coincided with infrequent and sometimes irreverent observance of the Eucharist in the Anglican Church. This is a historical fact, and it is equally historical that the Eucharist has developed a love of worship. The stately basilicas of the south, and the northern cathedrals with spires that point to a world that is no longer a world unfound, owe their beauty to the Eucharist. And it was round the Eucharist that the daily services of the Church arose and clustered, till all the week was bright with praise and prayer. That the Eucharist has promoted not only faith and worship, but a life unspotted from the world, will not be doubted by those who find that each great revival within the Church has been attended by a fresh desire to obey the precept, "This do in remembrance of Me."

We may proceed to consider in what sense the Eucharist is a *sacrifice*. It is very remarkable that, in the discourse on the Eucharist recorded by St. John, Christ makes no clearer reference to His Death than the statement that He will give His flesh for the life of the world—a statement which His hearers do not appear to have taken as a prophecy of His Death. And at the institution of the Eucharist there is less reference to His Death than is sometimes imagined. The separate consecration of the bread and of the cup are undoubtedly symbolical of the wounding of Christ,

by which His blood was to be separated from His body. St. Paul therefore says that in this service we "tell forth the Lord's Death." On the other hand, Christ's statement that His body "is being given" and His blood "is being shed," call our attention to the fact that Christ's oblation was not, in His own inward resolve, confined to the hours of the crucifixion. The historical event of the crucifixion is to be commemorated as embodied in His Person, and in that divine Person's will to be the world's ransom. It is Christ, rather than His Death, that the disciples are bidden to commemorate.

There is a strong adherence to this principle in the ancient Christian liturgies. The commemoration of Christ is always regarded as more important than the commemoration of His Death. The liturgies are eloquent of a living Christ. They join the proclamation of His Death with the proclamation of His Ascension, and assume that the Presence of the once humbled but now glorified Saviour is guaranteed to the bread and wine through the action of the Holy Spirit. All the earliest Fathers agree that a sacrificial character attaches to this service in which the firstfruits of creation are offered to the first Person of the Trinity, and become vehicles of Christ's Presence. The later Fathers developed this conception by describing the Eucharist as a sacrifice, not simply because our offering of the firstfruits become merged into Christ's present work of intercession,

but because our intercession includes our presentation to the Father of the divine Victim present in the Sacrament. Some theologians of later times complete the conception by insisting upon the identity of our action in the Eucharist with the intercession of Christ in heaven. We present Christ to the Father as truly as He presents Himself. Or rather, we are permitted to share in the priestly action of Him, Who, as St. Ambrose said, "preferred to carry the wounds He bare for us to heaven, that He might show the Father the price of our freedom."¹ It is impossible to deny the logical character of this development² of thought. It is only inaccurate if Christ be really absent both from the Sacrament and from the heart of the recipient.

This patristic doctrine, which gives a sacrificial significance to Christ's present work, and to our co-operation with that work, is by no means opposed to the teaching of the Epistle to the Hebrews. The ordinary Protestant opinion that such an opposition exists, is only tenable on the assumption that the Greek word for "offer," used in this Epistle, invariably refers to the slaughter of the victim. This assumption is quite inaccurate. The word is used, not only of the slaughter, but also of the sacrificial sprinkling such as took place on the Day of Atonement within the most holy

¹ *In Luc.* x. 170. Bishop Westcott, in his commentary on the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, p. 230, thinks the "conception of Christ pleading in heaven His Passion, 'offering His blood,' on behalf of men," is "modern." But this conception was evidently present in the mind of St. Ambrose.

place.¹ The most holy place is regarded by the author of the Epistle as a type of the sanctuary into which Christ has entered to minister. It is therefore contrary to the Scriptures to deny there is a true sense in which the enthroned Christ offers His blood. For blood is, in the language of the Bible, the summary of life, and the evidence of death. And as the highpriest on the Atonement Day interceded within the veil in virtue of the blood he offered there, so our Intercessor is continually an Offerer because His blood is the blood of the Victim.²

It might, therefore, appear that the Anglican Article is both intemperate and absurd in saying that "the sacrifices of Masses, in the which it was commonly said, that the Priest did offer Christ for the quick and the dead, to have remission of pain or guilt, were blasphemous fables, and dangerous deceits." But though the tone of the Article is vehement, there was a strong reason for its vehemence. Before the end of the Middle Ages the

¹ See Bishop Westcott on *Heb.* ix. 7, and compare *Lev.* i. 5.

² *Heb.* viii. 3. If modern commentators had duly considered the wide meaning given to the word *offer* in this Epistle, they would have been less positive in their assertions that the word *altar*, in *Heb.* xiii. 10, does not signify the Holy Table. They have tended to acquiesce in the interpretation which identifies the *altar* with the Cross on the supposed ground that the Epistle expressly excludes any offering of Christ except the offering on Calvary. Without denying that the Cross might be appropriately called the Christian altar, we must observe that to speak about eating of the Cross would be a singularly abrupt metaphor to be used by so elegant a writer with so little introduction.

primitive doctrine of the sacrifice of the Mass had been overshadowed by a mischievous parody. The main features of this perversion were as follows:—

1. The Mass was regarded, not so much as a commemoration of Christ, as of the Death of Christ, the Death being isolated from the subsequent Life. This conception passed wholesale into the Protestant communities.

2. The Mass was regarded as a repetition, under different circumstances, of Christ's humiliation upon the Cross. This conception has appeared again in a school of Roman theologians who regard some destruction of the thing offered as essential to sacrifice, and teach that the essence of the sacrifice of the Mass is to be found in the fact that Christ is reduced in the Eucharist to a "lower condition," so as to fit Him for human food, and then offered to the Father.

3. The Mass was regarded as an atonement for the actual sins committed by men, while the Death of Christ was regarded as only a redemption for original sin. This conception is repudiated by the second as well as by the thirty-first of the Anglican Articles. It is equally repudiated by all modern Roman Catholic theologians, and some have doubted whether such an opinion was ever entertained. But the doctrine is unmistakably taught in some mediæval sermons to which high importance was attached from the idea that they were written by the great schoolman, Albertus Magnus, or, as some thought, by St. Thomas

Aquinas himself.¹ A similar doctrine was taught by Catherinus, who held that the sacrifice of the Cross was the immediate source of the virtue of Baptism, while the sacrifice of the Mass was the immediate source of the virtue of Penitence.

4. Shortly before the Reformation this abuse became merged in a fourth. From the earliest times, the Church had maintained the Jewish custom of praying for the dead, the custom being considered a natural and integral part of a charity founded on the communion of saints. And from the third century onwards, it was usual to grant an indulgence or relaxation of ecclesiastical punishments to penitent sinners in view of special circumstances. Late in the Middle Ages, apparently in the fifteenth century, there arose a bastard combination of these two practices, and it became common to grant indulgences, or "pardons," applicable to those already dead. The immorality of the proceeding was sometimes so monstrous that Bishop Gardiner, who certainly had little inclination to Protestantism, denounced these "pardons from Rome" in the strongest terms.

¹ The sermons were sometimes attributed to St. Thomas, but they were ordinarily bound with those of Albertus, *Serm. de Euch.* xii. p. 250, edit. Lugd. That this view was held in England is shown in Becon, *Comparison between the Lord's Supper and the Pope's Mass*, Parker Society edit., p. 368: "The massmonger is become so impudent and without shame, that he feareth nothing most ungodly and wickedly to affirm, teach, and hold that Christ by His death did only put away original sin; and as for all other sins, saith he, they must be purged, cleansed, and put away by the sacrifice of the Mass."

For, as popularly used, a pardon or a Mass with a pardon attached, involved the theory that God was bound to release from pain or guilt the soul for which such a Mass or pardon was employed.¹ Whether these "pardons from Rome" were likely to be ratified by the supreme moral Being may be judged from the fact that the theologians of Paris decided that the pope could give a plenary remission to the soul of Galeazzo Sforza, who died unrepentant after living a life of adultery and "countless crimes." We can hardly be surprised that, after such abuses, one manuscript draft of the Anglican Articles included a condemnation of the doctrine of the schoolmen concerning Prayer for the Departed, a condemnation which was happily omitted, and has no place in the present Articles.

In conclusion, it is enough to say that Articles ii. and xxxi. are only concerned with condemning those theories which practically denied the complete propitiation of the Cross. They condemn "the sacrifices of Masses" on that ground only. They therefore leave undisputed the main current of doctrine about the sacrifice of the Mass which is found in the Fathers. They leave equally undisputed the doctrine as it is taught by certain modern Roman Catholic theologians who have

¹ Contemporary theologians were not agreed as to what precisely an indulgence might be. But the nature of the ordinary theory is sufficiently proved by the fact that in English an indulgence was called a *pardon*, and in Irish is still called *loghadh*, a remission.

adhered to patristic lines of thought. Vasquez denies that the Eucharistic sacrifice is strictly an immolation of Christ, while he maintains that it is a presentation of Christ accompanied by the consecration of signs which recall the separation of the body and the blood on Calvary.¹ Thomassin declares that "the sacrifice of the Eucharist is the same as that of Heaven."² Gratry shows that self-sacrifice to God is the essential action of man's eternal life, and that each beat of the Saviour's heart renews that oblation of His soul and body which is the "reasonable service" of His humanity.³ This is the priestly action of the Saviour, both in the Eucharist and on that throne of grace where He intercedes in the majesty of the accepted Victim for mankind.

II.

The language of the twenty-fifth Article about the "five commonly called Sacraments" that "have not like nature of Sacraments with Baptism and the Lord's Supper" is not so well-chosen as to express the real opinion of the English Reformers.

¹ For this and the opposing view of De Lugo and others, see Vacant, *Histoire de la Conception du Sacrifice de la Messe* (Delhomme, Paris, 1894).

² Thomassinus, *Dogmat. Theolog. de Incarnat. Verbi*, lib. x. cap. xxv. For this reference I am indebted to the admirable article by the Rev. F. W. Puller, in the *Revue Anglo-Romaine* for February 8, 1896.

³ *Philosophie du Credo*, pp. 217-220.

For it is evident that they did not regard Confirmation and Orders as due to a "corrupt following of the Apostles," or they would not have retained those institutions. And it is only by a very elastic diction that they could ever be called "states of life allowed in the Scriptures." Also the statement that they are "commonly called Sacraments" suggests that the name is a misnomer, while the statement that they "have not like nature of Sacraments with Baptism and the Lord's Supper," suggests that they are Sacraments, though of a different grade. Without attempting to defend the imperfection of this definition, we may notice that during the Middle Ages certain innovations were connected with the administration of Confirmation, Penance, Orders, and Extreme Unction, which had no apostolic authority, and that it is obvious that Matrimony, which was purged and perfected by Christ's own doctrine, was not, when at first instituted, one of the "Sacraments of the Gospel." The Article therefore conceals an intelligible view under an unintelligible form. A brief account will now be given of these lesser Sacraments, all of which can claim a close connexion with Christ or His apostles, though not made "generally necessary to salvation," *i.e.* necessarily received by all who use God's ordinary means of salvation.

Confirmation was reckoned as a Sacrament before the twelfth century, when the Sacraments were first explicitly enumerated as seven. All the

Church is agreed that the gifts of the Holy Spirit are bestowed with a new fulness by this apostolic rite. New wisdom and strength equip the recipient for the warfare of life, and the Spirit prepares him for deepening fellowship with Christ. Until the thirteenth century, children were confirmed as soon as possible after Baptism, and this is still the custom of the Eastern Churches. The custom lingers in some districts of Italy, but throughout the West it is now usual to wait until children reach "years of discretion."

The Anglican use requires the bishop to lay his hand upon the children whom he confirms; and the Roman Pontifical of the year 1888, in the new office for the confirmation of one person, expressly orders the bishop to lay his hand upon the head of the child, while he makes the sign of the cross upon his forehead with the thumb of the same hand. When a larger number of candidates is confirmed, Roman bishops have been accustomed to omit the laying on of the hand while making the sign of the cross, although they always extend their hands towards the candidates just previously. This omission appears to be modern, as in a Roman Pontifical printed at Venice in 1520 the bishop is shown in the act of signing while the rest of his hand is laid upon the head of the child who is being confirmed. The mediæval English use is hard to determine. The First Prayer-book of Edward VI. directs the two ceremonies represented in this Venetian Pontifical, and they were continued

in England for many years after the Reformation. As the Sarum Pontifical does not mention the laying on of the hand, it is possible that some mediæval English prelates, like modern Roman bishops, were guilty of a "corrupt following of the apostles" by administering Confirmation without it.

Matrimony is a Sacrament which St. Paul compares to the union existing between Christ and the Church. That he should have made this comparison at all is a striking illustration of the way in which Christianity has hallowed outward life. There is in the New Testament an entire absence of the pitiless asceticism and the emotional license which alternately appeal to the cultivated Oriental, and an equal absence of that quiet worldliness in which the Western mind reposes. Christianity links the happiness of marriage with the grace of a mutual devotion inspired by the unselfishness of Christ. The ministers of this Sacrament are the man and the woman themselves, and the reception of this means of grace by souls which are morally dead is only less criminal than its subsequent repudiation. Observance of the Christian laws of marriage would cover the world with a finer race, and their neglect must be a subject of anxiety to all who are aware how entirely the laws of science and of the Church are here at one. If the non-Christian principle of dissolution is recognized at all, then marriages which are dissolved at the consent of two will soon be dissolved at the demand of one. We must

either have Christian marriage or "free" marriage—that is, "consecutive polygamy." It is not difficult to see that the mischief caused by the latter would outweigh the perplexities caused by the former. The fire which is secure upon an altar will devastate when it is kindled upon the earth. Among all professing Christians, those are most inclined to repudiate marriage who are members of the sects which have traditionally disliked any reverence of Mary or devotion to the childhood of Jesus. In the years 1878–1880 the sectaries in some of the once Puritan states of America repudiated one of every thirteen, nine, or even seven of the marriages solemnized.¹

Holy Orders are appointed for the propagation of the supernatural life, as Matrimony is appointed for the natural. Ordination guides into a particular direction certain energies of Christ's mystical body, the Church. The permanent orders of the Church are those of bishop, priest, and deacon. By Apostolic Succession, this ministry receives through the bishops the authority which Christ first gave to the apostles. It is the doctrine of the entire Catholic Church, that episcopacy is necessary to the existence of the Church, because the ministry cannot be transmitted without it. The fact that the Church has sanctioned different grades among bishops, and permitted different methods in their

¹ A similar disregard for the religious character of marriage is shown in Germany. Of the Protestant marriages in Berlin during 1894, more than one-third were contracted without religious ceremonies.

nomination, in no wise diminishes or increases their inherent power. Nor is this power less real when the Church has not given diocesan jurisdiction to those who have received the episcopal character.

Hitherto the Church has not completely defined what rites are essential to a valid ordination, and some mediæval theologians departed from apostolic teaching by maintaining that the essence of a priest's ordination lay in his reception of the paten, chalice and oblation. It is the general opinion of both Anglican and Roman theologians that all that is essential to a valid ordination is the laying on of hands by bishops of apostolic line, and the use of a formula which makes clear the intention of the rite.

No honest purpose can be served by suggesting any doubt as to the possibility of a compromise with regard to the orders of the ministry. Any local Church which ceased to guard the present Catholic ministry of bishops would cease to form part of the living Catholic Church. Modern Presbyterians frequently claim to possess a genuine ministry on the ground that their ministers have received "the laying on of hands of the presbytery." The claim makes two assumptions. It firstly assumes that every presbyter is a bishop—a matter which we have considered in a previous lecture. It secondly assumes that there has always been among the Presbyterians a continuous succession of men who received the "laying on of hands."

This is extremely doubtful. The first Scottish Presbyterians repudiated the idea of their having any "lineal Descence" from the mediæval Scottish Church, and denied the necessity of the laying on of hands. A popular Presbyterian text-book endorses the statement that "the very fact that no theory of Apostolical Succession hampered the free action of the Reformers, makes it all the more noticeable that that succession was not broken."¹ The reader would hardly gather from these words the doctrine of Knox and others as expressed in the first *Book of Discipline*, and in the two Scottish *Confessions of Faith*, dated respectively 1560 and 1580. They were not hampered by a theory of Apostolical Succession, for the reason that they explicitly held an absolutely different theory. It is quite consistent, and is an exact contradiction of historical Catholic doctrine. The "Catholike Kirk" is declared to be "invisible, knawen onelie to God," and its "lauchful Ministers" are those appointed with no outward rites except election, examination, and admission. Opposed to it is the "Kirk malignant," with its "divilish messe," its "wicked hierarchie," and ministers which "are na Ministers of Christ Jesus."²

The same objections apply to the ministry of

¹ The quotation is made in Mr. Muir's *Church of Scotland*, p. 33.

² See Schaff, *Creeds of the Evangelical Protestant Churches*; and Keith, *Affairs of Church and State in Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 16.

the Calvinistic Methodists, who sometimes call themselves Presbyterian. This sect, whose numbers and organization render it at the present moment the most powerful political factor in North Wales, was composed of the members of a society originally within the pale of the Welsh Church. The society was aided by a few clergymen, some of whom took part in the secession from the Church in 1811. The act of secession was signalized by a service for appointing ministers of the new sect. Possibly from a lingering belief in real ordinations, Thomas Charles, who conducted the service, did not venture to lay hands on the new officials. Whether, like the first Scottish Reformers, he did not believe that he had received orders at all, is far less certain. The fact remains that, even if episcopacy were proved to be derived from some primitive form of Presbyterianism, neither the Welsh nor the Scottish Presbyterians can be regarded on present evidence as having a true ministry.¹

A distinguished Presbyterian recently published a retort to the effect that if Anglicans do not recognize the validity of Presbyterian orders, the

¹ The suggestion that the Episcopal Church in Scotland is in the same position, on account of the fact that certain Presbyterian ministers in the seventeenth century were consecrated to the episcopate without being previously ordained priests, is due to a misconception. In ancient times many consecrations to the episcopate took place without a preliminary ordination to the priesthood, and several popes were thus consecrated. See the Abbé Duchesne in the *Bulletin Critique*, July 15, 1894, where he makes the clear and able defence of Anglican ordinations which is quoted below.

Roman Church does not admit the validity of Anglican orders. But no Roman pamphlet could ever be written on Presbyterian orders; while a literature exists on Anglican orders. Moreover, any possible condemnation of Anglican orders by Rome would be the result of exploded fictions, combined with new criteria invented to meet the case. Roman bishops have, it is true, re-ordained any Anglican clerics who have submitted to their authority and desired to exercise priestly functions. But within the last few years some learned members of the French priesthood have criticized with great acuteness the alleged grounds of these reordinations, and I will content myself with briefly referring to their criticisms. The two first grounds are purely theological, the remainder are historical.

1. It has been alleged that the Anglican rites of ordination are inadequate to convey true orders. This rests chiefly on the scholastic theory that the essential rite of ordination consists in the delivery of the sacred vessels, and in the words which the bishop pronounces in delivering them. The Abbé Duchesne says, "This view is now abandoned: it is too clear that, in order to uphold it, it would be necessary to account as null and void all Greek and Oriental ordinations, and even all those of the Latin Church prior to the 11th or 12th century."

2. It has been alleged that Anglican ordinations are invalid on account of a defective intention in the bishops who have administered the rites. The

Abbé Duchesne and the Abbé Delasge¹ assert the true Roman doctrine that all that is necessary is "the general intention of doing what the Church does," even if the rite be not adequately understood. Now it cannot be questioned that the reforming bishops intended to make true bishops, priests, and deacons. This cuts across the contention that an ordination rite is invalidated because a bishop does not reckon orders as a Sacrament, or intend to ordain priests who can offer the sacrifice of the Mass. With regard to the latter point, the Abbé Portal has shown the illogical character of the assumption that the Anglican Church, in excluding a false doctrine concerning the sacrifice of the Mass, also excluded the primitive doctrine.²

3. It has been alleged that documentary evidence is fatal to the validity of Anglican orders. This evidence includes *The Nag's Head Fable*—a scandalous legend according to which the Elizabethan bishops went through a mock ordination at a tavern called The Nag's Head. No respectable controversialist now believes this legend. The second piece of evidence is furnished by a Bull, written in the reign of Queen Mary, by Pope Julius III., and a Bull and Brief of Paul IV. Mgr. Gasparri has shown that the first document is ambiguous, and the two latter, though

¹ *Validité des Ordinations Anglicanes* (Paris, 1895), p. 15.

² *Les Ordinations Anglicanes*, par Fernand Dalbus (Arras, 1894), p. 29.

they practically treat the ordinations as null, defy any consistent interpretation. Logically interpreted the Brief would admit the validity of the ordinations to the diaconate and priesthood, and deny the validity of ordinations to the episcopate, a conclusion which is theologically impossible.¹ The third piece of evidence is a decision of the Holy Office, dated April 17, 1704, against the validity of the orders of John Gordon, Anglican bishop of Glasgow. This decision contains every possible error. It accepts the truth of *The Nag's Head Fable*, and says "no evidence is produced of successive ordination" in the case of Anglican orders. Nevertheless the document was produced in 1844 from the Archives of the Holy Office as a formal decision on Anglican orders.² Mgr. Gasparri is therefore thoroughly justified in suggesting that "the subsequent jurisprudence" of the Holy Office was influenced by its decision, and that these decisions "do not appear to settle the question."

The Anglican Church, in retaining a true ministry, retains a sacerdotal system by which the clergy act as the guardians of the Sacraments, convey the divine pardon, and offer the Eucharistic sacrifice.³ A belief in the sacerdotal character of

¹ *Revue Anglo-Romaine*, Feb. 15, 1896. Objections have been made to the effect that Barlow, who took part in the consecration of Archbishop Parker, was no true bishop. He was consecrated in 1536 with the ancient Pontifical, and the strong evidence for this has been crowned by the recent discovery of the mandate for his consecration. It was undisputed till 1616.

² Rev. J. D. Breen, O.S.B., in the *Times*, Oct. 19, 1894.

³ It is to be noted that the Welsh translation of the Prayer-book

the ministry depends on a belief in two further assertions of the New Testament. The first is the assertion of the community of life between Christ the High Priest and the Christian believer, and the second is the assertion that the ministry is not constituted merely by the voice of the Christian community, but derives its authority for reconciling man to God from Christ and Him glorified.¹ If the first assertion be true, it follows that all Christians join in the priestly work of offering themselves in Him and Him in themselves. This truth was happily emphasized in the Sarum Mass, in which the celebrant reminded his "brethren and sisters" then present that the sacrifice was theirs as well as his own. If the second assertion be a fact, then the ministry is not only a means through which the "royal priesthood" exercises these functions, but one through which the divine High Priest also works and pardons. The position of the Christian minister is therefore doubly representative of priesthood. It is sometimes urged that the apostles never describe themselves by the ordinary Greek word for a sacrificing priest, and that this is sufficient proof that they did not assume any sacerdotal character. The argument is by no means convincing. To have used this word would have at once created a misunderstanding, and led to the idea that they were Jewish

retains as the equivalent for "priest" the word *offeiriad*, i.e. offerer of the Mass.

¹ See especially *Eph.* iv.

or pagan officials. No one questions that the mediæval clergy in Great Britain, France, and Ireland made sacerdotal claims. But neither in England, Wales, France, Ireland, or Scotland did they employ the names which their pagan compatriots had used for the pagan priesthood. In *Rom.* xv. 16, where his meaning was not likely to be mistaken, St. Paul speaks of himself as "sacerdotally ministering" the Gospel; and in the same verse he gives himself a name which the Hellenistic Jews used definitely in the sense of "priest." The passage is figurative, but it implies that the apostle has received from Christ an authority to communicate the Gospel to the souls of his converts in such a way that he may fitly offer them to God. He is a living medium between God and man, and we cannot feel that he would have spoken of a layman as possessing the same privileges. On the other hand, it is entirely natural that this mediating work should be ascribed to the presbyters whose spiritual offices were differentiated out of the apostolate. To represent this mediating office as any intrusion upon the mediatorial position of Jesus Christ, through Whom alone can man approach the Father, is to show a jealousy of Christ's dignity which Christ has not manifested Himself.

The Sacrament of *Penitence* is connected with the position of priests and bishops as the commissioned stewards of the divine mysteries. Their remission of sins is not the mere remission of ecclesiastical penalties, but actually effects a reconciliation

with God through Jesus Christ. The Sacrament is a means of securing that this reconciliation should take place on God's own terms, and when the ignorance or malice of a priest causes him to withhold his absolution the repentant sinner unquestionably receives the divine pardon. Penitence includes a true sorrow or contrition for sin, a true confession of sins based upon a searching of the conscience, and a willingness to make reparation for the sins committed. A type of such penitence is presented to every Christian by the dying Thief. His words to his fellow malefactor and to the High Priest of our profession show sorrow and confession, and a reparation to Jesus Christ for the insults he had thrown upon Him. He declares that he suffers "justly." He is ready to undergo the discipline of divine justice inflicted by human instruments.

As a readiness to receive the discipline of divine punishment is one of the chief "fruits meet for repentance," the name of "penance" became technically given to the discipline enjoined on Christians by God's ministers.¹ To avoid all ambiguity it would be well to always distinguish the word "Penitence" from this abbreviated word "penance."

It is plain from the Order for the Visitation of

¹ This discipline was originally a recommencement of the catechumenate. The penitent was treated almost exactly as a catechumen being prepared for Baptism. See Duchesne, *Origines du Culte Chrétien*, p. 417. The Catholic doctrine that it is honourable for a man to be afflicted with a remedial punishment which improves him and delivers him from evil is partly anticipated by Plato (*Gorg.* 476, 525).

the Sick, and from the Exhortation immediately following the prayer for the Church Militant in the Communion Service, that the Church of England sanctions the use of private confession to a priest. At the same time, the Church of England has returned to the usage of the earlier Middle Ages by leaving great latitude in the making of such confessions.¹

The vulgar objections against private confession may usually be classed under four heads:—

1. That it places a man between ourselves and our Maker. The same charge might be levelled against preaching.

2. That it was not practised among the first few generations of Christians. This objection overlooks the fact that no doctrinal question is involved in private confession and absolution which was not involved in the ancient public confession and absolution; it also ignores the possibility of the Church having acquired a deeper sense of the evil of secret sins and the need of dealing with them in a distinct manner.

3. That it is destructive of manliness of character. This objection might be urged with equal truth against all the confidences of friendship. No good man ever desires to see another man become unmanly. The words of Bossuet to spiritual directors may well be quoted in reference

¹ The Penitential of Archbishop Theodore, the great English primate of the seventh century, allows confession to be made to God alone, "if it is necessary."

to this subject : "Far from wishing to attach weak souls to yourselves, make them free : and, as far as you can, bring them to a condition where they will need you less, and will walk alone by the principles of conduct which you give them."

4. That it encourages a morbid and impure disposition. There are serious grounds for denying this, and it is worth noticing that the only time when auricular confession was stopped in the Church it was for a very different reason. The occasion was in the fourth century, when the weak-minded Nectarius, bishop of Constantinople, put a stop to auricular confession, not because it encouraged vice, clerical or otherwise, but because it exposed a clerical offender who would otherwise have passed undetected.¹ The statement of M. Renan, who was himself trained for the French priesthood, and afterwards lost few opportunities of ridiculing his early faith, is sufficient testimony to the fact that the practice is not demoralizing. He says in his *Souvenirs*, "The fact is, that what people say about clerical morals is, so far as my experience goes, destitute of any foundation. I never saw the shadow of a scandal. . . . Confession may be attended in some countries with serious drawbacks. I did not see a trace of them in my

¹ Dr. Moule, *Outlines of Christian Doctrine*, p. 226, has stated this too vaguely to suggest the facts to a reader unacquainted with the original authorities. He mentions the office of the Penitentiary priests, and says, "The office, however, on account of certain scandals, was by Chrysostom's time abolished." The story is narrated in Socrates, *H. E.* v. 19.

ecclesiastical youth.”¹ This and other evidence goes to vindicate the prudence of the English Prayer-book in bidding the Christian whose conscience is not at rest to go to some “discreet and learned Minister of God’s Word, and open his grief; that by the ministry of God’s holy Word he may receive the benefit of absolution, together with ghostly counsel and advice, to the quieting of his conscience, and avoiding of all scruple and doubtfulness.”

The anointing of the sick in the Name of the Lord with prayer is the last of these sacred rites. This *Unction* has been called the “lost Pleiad of the Anglican firmament,” on account of its nearly universal neglect since the Reformation. The use of it had previously been perverted by postponing the ordinance until the hour of death. The late Père Gratry has complained of this abuse as still popularly existing in France.² “People do not make use of Extreme Unction; they apply it to corpses.” In consequence of a similar abuse among the Armenians, who were accustomed to postpone repentance of sin under the idea that it would be remitted by this Sacrament, the Roman Church long permitted the abeyance of Extreme Unction among the Uniate Armenians. Father Issaverdenz, of Venice, says, “It is only in our own days that the Catholic Armenians acknowledge the necessity of this Sacrament, and administer it

¹ Page 139.

² *Philosophie du Credo*, p. 238.

to the dying.”¹ In the present age there appears to be no reason why Christians who have the Bible in their hands should not revive this consoling and apostolic custom, believing that “the prayer of faith shall save the sick.” It might often prove a refreshment, not only to the body, but also to the soul, long before the reception of that last and best “provision for the journey” which is given to renew man’s strength when he reaches the pillars of death and the wide but not unbounded sea that lies beyond.

¹ *Rites et Cérémonies* (Venise, 1876), p. 62.

CHAPTER IX.

CATHOLIC DOGMA.

Dogma, then, is essential Christian truth thrown by authority into a form which admits of its permanently passing into the understanding and being treasured by the heart of the people.—
DR. LIDDON.

Malheur au vague ! mieux vaut le faux.—RENAN, *Souvenirs*,
p. 217.

I.

IF a man is worth anything, he is so as a result of his faculty of appreciation. This faculty makes him impatient of limitations, and carries him not only into a higher moral life, but also into wider intellectual sympathies. The Hebrew people gained more of these sympathies than is often imagined. The children of the Ghetto, like the inimitable dialect of the Ghetto, are a veritable "palimpsest" written over with many adaptations. This is illustrated by their relation to the Greeks, a people remote from their own ways and habits. We cannot think of a Jew writing a Sophoclean tragedy with its precision and repose, and we cannot conceive of a Greek speaking of the place where wisdom is found in the language

of the Book of Job. Both Jew and Greek were idealists, both made a profound analysis of human nature, and both rendered signal service to the investigation of morals. But while the Greek desired philosophy to be ethical, the Jew knew that ethics must be religious. His soul was athirst for God, and he could not rest content with explaining moral problems by the idea of a Necessity greater than the gods, or by the forces immanent within the finite world. This difference between the two peoples did not prevent all union of their spirit. From the times of the Book of Wisdom and of Philo until the days of Moses Maimonides, the cultured Jew was able to appreciate the contributions of Greek thought to the life of goodness. But it followed from the personality of Christ and His appeal to universal convictions that the real union between the Greek and Semitic spirit took place within the Christian Church. The union was effected and was recognized. In the second century Justin Martyr calls Greek philosophers "the friends of Christ"; and, at a later time, St. Athanasius describes the conquest which Judaism won over Hellenism when he says that Judaism was "the sacred school of the knowledge of God for the world"; while Socrates, the ancient Church historian, expresses the Christian appreciation of Hellenism by saying that "the beautiful, wherever it may be, is the ally of truth."

The existence of Catholic dogma has owed much

to this alliance between the spirit of well-ordered reasoning and the spirit of personal submission to a God of holiness. When Christianity was in travail with truth, Greek thought advanced to aid the birth. This is admitted on all sides ; but very different interpretations are put upon the value of the assistance thus rendered to Christianity. Those Rationalist theologians who found their religion upon the philosophy of Hegel, regard all theology as transitional and all dogmas as myths. They believe that Jesus was deified by a necessary process of illusion, which enabled Christianity to become a light to the Gentiles. Hellenism consequently had the effect of turning Christian truth into an attractive changeling, destined to change again.

On the other hand, certain Protestant theologians, who are dominated by the philosophy of Kant, take a severer view of Greek influence upon Christianity. All Christian metaphysics and all sacramental doctrines are called Hellenic. They are not connected with an evolution, but with a perversion of the moral teaching contained in the Sermon on the Mount and the Gospel of the Kingdom. Hellenism is credited with seizing and cruelly maiming Christian truth, and a desperate effort is made to win men back to Christ by rigorously excluding from Christianity everything that claims to be philosophic, and therefore everything that any philosopher can find offensive to his critical sense.

These recent and conflicting theories are not only refuted by the fact that, from the first, Christ has seemed to His followers to be "wisdom" as well as "sanctification," and that they must inevitably have endeavoured to find a system in His teaching. They are also refuted by the fact that Christian dogma rose rather from the relation of Christians to Judaism than from their relation to Hellenism. There is some evidence for the existence of Gnosticism in St. Paul's later Epistles ; and the works of Plutarch show that Gnostic tenets, as to the opposition between God and matter, and the work of intervening spirits, could seem acceptable to a refined pagan thinker at the close of the first century. But Judaism was responsible for raising the first dogmatic problems. The first Jewish Christians, like children in a modern Board school, would probably know the Ten Commandments, and believe that there is only one God, and that they must have none other gods. At the same time, they were taught to give worship and blessing to Jesus Christ. What was to be done if they inquired, as they were bound to do, whether Jesus were God, and whether there were, after all, two gods? It was only possible for their instructors either to take refuge in obscurantism—to say "religion is apart from knowledge," and face the consequences ; or call in the aid of metaphysics, and attempt a rational account of the moral experience that Christ had changed their lives, and that Christ had claimed a divine origin. The necessity of an

answer was emphasized by the knowledge that Judaism was connected with a round of precepts and observances which appeared unsuited to a universal religion.

We find this problem of Jewish observances drawing to a head in the Epistles to the Philippians, Colossians, and Hebrews. In writing to the Philippians, St. Paul calls the Judaizers enemies of the Cross of Christ, and strongly denounces confidence in Jewish privileges, a confidence opposed to a genuine belief in the eternal Son, Who, though He possessed the attributes of God, "emptied Himself," to be found in fashion as a man. In the Epistle to the Colossians he openly wars against the Judaizers who abstain from various kinds of food, observe Jewish festivals, and worship angels. It is no longer a controversy between justification by Faith and justification by the Law, such as had been waged in Galatia, but a question of keeping particular rites and doctrines which a Judaizing party had grafted into Christianity. The sectaries exalted "wisdom," and "philosophy," and "knowledge," combined their creed with some fancies of a rudimentary Gnosticism, and introduced their practices under catchwords made popular by Greek culture. St. Paul opposes them with a conception of Christ which is calculated to make such practices fall into their true perspective. The fact that the fulness of the Godhead dwells in Christ, by Whom and for Whom everything was created, and Who abides in creation as its principle of cohesion,

sufficiently condemns the Colossian system of mediatorial angels. Christ's accomplishment of man's salvation renders it mischievous to rely upon Jewish ceremonies, which the people of Colossæ were not retaining as old social usages, but introducing as supports to religion. Very similar is the doctrine of the Epistle to the Hebrews. It is written to men who feel regret for the warm intercourse of Jewish life, and have wistful memories of the stately Temple services. They are looking backward, and are called by the author to look upward to the Christ Who is the image of the "hypostasis," or substance, of the Father,—a word being borrowed from contemporary philosophy to explain an eternal truth.

Here, and in other parts of the New Testament, we find that questions of conduct involved questions of intellect, and metaphysical dogma is employed to satisfy the mind of Christians who desired to understand Christ's true position. The second century unfolds the same process before us. Before the first quarter of that century had passed, very numerous conversions had been made from Judaism. At the same time, the continuity of the present with the ancient Israel had been secured by representing the Church as the New Jerusalem, which has the names of the twelve tribes upon its portals, but gathers its citizens from all nations and all kindreds. It then became necessary to separate with a wrench from those who, as St. John had written, "say that they are Jews, and

are not." The influence of these unbelieving Jews was telling on their Christian kinsmen. The latter disinterred the mummy of Judaism, and, having repainted it in different colours, called it Christianity. The result was a Christian reaction towards Hellenism, a reaction seen in extreme caricature in the Antisemitic movement of the chief Gnostic sects. The Gnostic sects cannot be neatly classified. A degenerate Platonism and Pythagoreanism, mixed with elements from Persia and India, combined with the Gospel to form bastard theosophies which, embellished with a rank vegetation of celestial beings, were offered alternately to the ascetic and to the debauchee. Forged documents, pretended revelations, and imposing rituals were all pressed into the service of this esoteric and interesting system. Nonsensical as were some of its outward forms, they concealed a great moral and religious danger. Gnosticism tended to the view that the supreme God was unknowable, taught that matter was the root of all evil, that the secret of perfection rested with man's understanding and not with his will, and that the creation of the world and the teaching of the Old Testament were the work, not of the Supreme God, but of an inferior or evil being. Any genuine Incarnation was denied, and all historical preparation for Christ's coming was ignored. No root was left of which Jesus was the flower. It appeared too earthy to the dreamers who—

Quitting sense called imitating God.

It was natural that the Church should be profoundly moved, and that even theologians who combated Gnosticism with the traditions of Christianity should be occasionally affected by Gnostic theories. Some difficulty was felt in recognizing the full value of the history of Israel, and there arose a tendency to find in the Old Testament little that was attractive except as a symbol of something Christian. Alexandria in particular became an intellectual focus where the real was absorbed by the allegorical, and where the critics allowed their fancy a play which was more liberal than true. But if this reaction from Judaism was accompanied by mistakes it was also accompanied by a development of truth. The pagans charged the Christians with Atheism, and the apologists of the second century were morally compelled to present their opponents with the Gospel in a systematic form. It was not to be expected that men like Justin and Athenagoras, who had been trained in Greek schools of philosophy, would make no attempt to give a philosophic reason for their adoration of Jesus. A term to aid their explanations was already at hand in the word *Logos*. St. John had used it before, and had thereby explained those distinctions in the nature of the Godhead which the words of Jesus indicated, and had witnessed to his belief that the Divinity of Jesus was the eternal principle which upholds the existence of man and nature. Rationalists have represented this doctrine of the fourth Gospel as

Hellenic, and as the last stage of an illusion which made Jesus welcome to the pagan world. But the difference between St. John's doctrine and that of the Greek philosophers, or even of the half Greek Philo, militates vigorously against their hypothesis. It is still further weakened by the fact that Jewish Rabbis used phrases which easily account for the diction of St. John's prologue. On the other hand, the apologists were unquestionably influenced by Stoic philosophy in their interpretation of the word Logos. This Stoic influence is probably most marked in the case of Theophilus, who represented the Son as the Logos Who before the creation of the world was internal to the Father, and only became external and uttered in order to serve as the Agent of the Father in creation.

It cannot be denied that these explanations raised new difficulties. In spite of their devotion to Christ, the apologists in their treatises regarded Him rather as the ideal explanation of the universe than as the Redeemer of the soul. And this preponderance of the philosophic temper prevented them from giving Jesus the honour they desired to give Him. Considering the eternal Logos to have not been strictly begotten until the Creation, they tended unconsciously to the view that the divinity revealed in Jesus was less than the Divinity of the Father. These and other points of weakness do not justify us in thinking that the Christian faith of the second century was a chaos. They occur in books which represent not so much the

past traditions of the Church as well-meant efforts to meet the needs of the present. They had nothing but the authority of an individual behind them, and were sometimes advanced by men who had no official status in the Church. The stream of genuine tradition which had flowed from the apostles to St. Ignatius still ran onward. We find it in the profoundly Christian philosophy of Irenæus, emphasizing as it did the dignity of matter which God had assumed at the Incarnation, and in the growing attempt to consider the Trinity, not merely in a series of outward manifestations, but in the inner life of God which such manifestations presuppose. This attempt was the work of Tertullian, Origen, and other successors of the first apologists, at the close of the second and the beginning of the third century. They reconciled the Divinity of the Son, which their predecessors had vindicated, though vindicated imperfectly, with the unity of God. They realized that the Son is personal as well as eternal. They thus gave a genuine meaning to the loving Fatherhood of the first Person of the Trinity, and vindicated our claim to become the children of God through our incorporation into Christ.

This truth of the reality of the divine Fatherhood became clearer to the Christian conscience during two phases of controversy in the third century. The controversy had to be maintained against those who practically denied the Divinity of Jesus by their doctrine of the *Monarchia*, or

absolute unity of God, a name which, like the name of Unitarian, gently insinuated that historical Christianity was polytheism. Tertullian justly laughs at the inhabitants of the Campagna who were always repeating this word *Monarchia*, which they could neither understand nor pronounce ; but the Monarchians had some teachers of no mean ability. Into the intricacies of their doctrines we have not time to penetrate. But we should notice that, whether they believed with Sabellius that the Son and the Spirit were modes of the Father's manifestation, or believed with Paul of Samosata that Jesus became the adopted Son of God as a reward for His progress in virtue, their belief always implied that there was no genuine Fatherhood in the divine nature. From Paul of Samosata, the friend of Queen Zenobia, the latter doctrine, carefully elaborated, descended to Lucian of Antioch. Lucian still further complicated the heresy. He abandoned the view of Paul of Samosata that the historical Christ was purely human at the beginning of His life, and taught that the Logos in Jesus was not an impersonal divine influence, but a half divine Person who acted as a soul in His human body. Thus, at the beginning of the fourth century, there was abroad a mock Christianity with a Saviour neither human nor divine.

II.

In the fourth century, Christian dogma proved the great safeguard of Christian liberty. That

memorable age witnessed a determined inroad of opinions adverse to Christian tradition. These opinions, though not inaccurately grouped together under the name of Arianism, were chiefly united by a negation. Their adherents rejected the dogmatic statement, accepted in A.D. 325 by the Nicene council, to the effect that the Son of God is of the same *ousia*, or substance, as the Father. The Arians comprised three main parties. The first was simply retrograde. They did not feel that the new definition was necessary. They did not deny its real meaning, but thought such phraseology alien to the spirit of Christianity. It had about it a flavour of Greek metaphysics, and they were conscious that if the word *ousia* were here employed in any of the senses usual in Greek philosophy, the word *homoousios* might mean that God was material, or that the Son and the Father both partook of some ulterior essence. This was the party which St. Athanasius and St. Hilary of Poitiers took peculiar pains to conciliate. St. Hilary, in his treatise *de Synodis*, uses every argument which intellect and charity can suggest to show that the word must be accepted if the faith is to be kept. His argument throughout proves that the common tradition of the Church assumed that the Son is as really divine as the Father. He only wishes his friends to admit, what was urged by Dr. Waterland against the Arians of later times, that "the sense of Scripture is Scripture." This the orthodox writers made plain continually. They

could not deny that they were using a word familiar to the students of the Porch and the Academy. But they used it in a sense derived from the Christian revelation. The word gave a rational basis to the worship of Christ, by affirming that the God Who was known both to Jew and Greek as the eternal and self-existent Being, was revealed in Christ. Before long the arguments of men like Hilary, combined with the object lesson of current needs, prevailed upon the retrograde party. They began to refuse to be the cat's-paw of the genuine Arians and in growing numbers acquiesced in the Nicene definition.

The genuine Arians consisted of a powerful section who opposed the dogma because they had another dogma in the background. Their philosophy was Aristotelian, and insisted upon the solitary unity of the First Cause. Their theory with regard to Christ was a fusion of the doctrine of Paul of Samosata with a view that appears in Origen. The latter believed the world to be eternal, and, though fully convinced of the Deity of the Son, he endangered it by holding, like some earlier writers, that it was on account of the world that the Son developed a personal existence. It would logically follow that, if the universe were not eternal, the Son would not be eternal. The Arians expressly asserted the non-eternity of both. In their eyes Jesus was a man whose soul consisted of a sublime spirit which was like some great angel, created by God, and employed in the

creation of the world. The orthodox had sufficient acumen to see that this opened the door to pure paganism. For while the Arians showered majestic epithets on Jesus, they worshipped Him only as a saint. And while they touched paganism on the one side, they affected on the other a peculiarly complacent Agnosticism. Arianism, as taught by Arius, implied that Christ did not adequately reveal the Father because His finite nature was incompetent to understand Him. But certain of the followers of Arius, in their determination to separate the Father from the Son, represented the very essence of the Father as consisting in the fact that He was unbegotten. They did not always shrink from saying that, since the divine essence was so simple, God was as comprehensible to man as He is to Himself. The importance of their doctrine, in relation to its environment, is that it introduced the negative conception of God which hovered behind much of the Greek philosophy. Arianism, while objecting to a word which Catholicism borrowed from the pagans, borrowed both their scepticism and their idolatry.

The third party was latitudinarian. When the Christian world was divided into Arian and Nicene, the Latitudinarians suggested the fitness of saying that the Son was like the Father, and adding as little more as possible. They ignored the fact that this was no solution of the difficulty, and that men, whatever they might say, must believe in either more or less than a similarity of Christ to

God. They played, sometimes deliberately, into the hands of the extreme Arian party. They were backed by the Eastern imperial court. They tricked, they cajoled, and they circulated as Nicene a document drawn up in their own interest, not at Nicæa, but at Nice. The Emperors Constantius and Valens supported them by fiercely persecuting their opponents. Outwardly successful, their victory was as shallow as their principles, and at the death of Valens the party quickly declined. They had, as Themistius remarked, "worshipped the purple, and not God." They had no Athanasius to carry them against the drift of the imperial tide. But there is a point in their history which has a strange significance. The Emperor Julian, who regarded moral goodness and practical culture as almost convertible with hatred of Christianity, and who had a mind that revelled in the *bric-à-brac* of Greek religion, was the outcome of an imperial *régime* which tried to "hang theology."¹

In the meanwhile real liberty and simplicity of faith was secured by the adoption of one Greek word. The Arians distinguished themselves by the number and variety of their creeds, the

¹ Mr. Hodgkin, in his *Italy and her Invaders*, includes Constantius among the "Theologian Emperors." This is absolutely accurate if it be taken to mean that he devoted his whole energy to "theological fussiness." But this "fussiness" was entirely directed towards the suspension of any theology which was opposed to the compulsory union of all parties in the Church on the basis of submission to the vague formula approved by Constantius himself.

Catholics were content with one, and that one survived. Their acceptance of that creed may still appear a disaster to those who are confident that the Gospels are garbled and distorted, but there is no one who can disagree with the persuasion of Thomas Carlyle as to the paramount importance of the question that was then at stake, and the certainty that, if the Arians had won, "Christianity would have dwindled away to a legend." The Catholics, in accepting the Nicene Creed, were not in the smallest degree influenced by any idea that the council received an increasing revelation beyond the revelation given to the first believers. In their eyes, the action of the council was an exposition of the inherent faith of the Church which had been previously declared in Scripture. It only gave a formula to a fact. We must endorse their belief. Just as the Urdu-speaking Christians in India did, in A.D. 1895, adopt a word to express the Trinity which will render tritheism impossible, so the Nicene fathers, in A.D. 325, adopted a word which excommunicated the idea of an angel-god. Judging by some interpretations of Church history which we have seen in Europe, we may reckon it possible that the Bengali critic of a thousand years hence will maintain that the doctrine of the Trinity was first introduced into India at the close of the nineteenth century.

The victory which was won at Nicæa was repeated at Constantinople in A.D. 381, when

the creed was asserted against various novelties, and especially that offshoot of Arianism which denied the Divinity of the Holy Ghost. The original Arian controversy had given a great impulse to the development of dogma, and this was connected with a gradual sifting and selection of the scientific terms employed. It was not without reluctance that some theologians were compelled to devote such minute attention to the purely intellectual departments of Christianity. St. Hilary, in his work upon the Trinity, expresses this with a sigh of regret. "Formerly the word of the Lord, 'Go and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost,' was enough for the faithful. . . . But through the faults of heretics and blasphemers we are compelled to do what is not permitted, to scale the heights, to express the inexpressible, to take to ourselves what is not given to us; . . . so that what should have been shrouded in the religion of the mind, is exposed to the peril of human speech."¹ Those are remarkable words for a great dogmatic writer to have used, and they go far to refute the charge that dogma changes belief in God into belief in our own theories about Him.

Another refutation is furnished by the character of St. Augustine. His faith, like his Latinity which it so deeply coloured, showed its vigour in being equally able to adapt or to replace the utterances of earlier thinkers. Before his conversion

¹ *de Trin.* ii. 2.

he found that intellectual libertinism did not yield him the joy which carnal pleasure had denied. His philosophic powers, perhaps beyond those of any man who had been born since Aristotle, had proved insufficient to discover a motive to a life of purity, or to reach the love which haunted and allured his spiritual senses. He desired something better than a Neo-Platonism which taught the existence of a supreme Being who did not rule the world Himself, which brought no assurance of the soul's worth in the sight of its Creator, which stimulated speculations of the mind more than activities of the will.¹ Dissatisfied, he left the Manichæans, *magni pollicitatores rationis atque veritatis*, the eclectic Rationalists who set the New Testament against the Old, and the books of the New Testament against one another. How he returned from his long exile, and found within himself the God Whom he had sought without, and the rest for which he had been restless, forms a chapter in the great romance of Christendom. All this has too real a connexion with modern life to be allowed to sink into oblivion; but there is another fact about Augustine which no educated Christian should forget. His character united two faculties which in a vulgar soul are incompatible. On the one hand, Augustine possessed that power of contemplation and insight into God which is the prerogative of the man who through much tribulation has learnt that he has himself been the

¹ See *Conf.* vii. c. ix.

veil between his soul and God, and can now speak with Him as friend with friend. That was the fruit of his conversion. On the other hand, he did not, like some of the mystics, simply nurse a few precious truths of experience. He had the faculty of seeking new nourishment in intellectual effort, of shaping his ideas, and duly relating them to one another. This was the result of his education.

It is true that his experience of a divine grace which had pursued him "down the arches of the years," led him to think that this grace was sometimes irresistible. Such a doctrine is greatly responsible for some of the worst errors of Calvin and Luther. And yet he was a rational as well as a religious thinker. He did not wish that his doctrine of predestination should be preached indiscriminately. And though the cold shadow of it fell on later ages, it was not originally fatal to those flowers of thought which still, to borrow an Eastern saying, "belong to the heart of the perfume-seller." His own principle he asserted in the advice to "repudiate all who neither make their divinity philosophical nor their philosophy divine." He attempted to do both, and by a happy union of Platonic idealism with the experience of his Christian life, derived man's knowledge of God from man's knowledge of himself. God was to him the presupposition of what man discovers in his soul, the "Being in all existence, Truth in all knowing, Beauty in all feeling, Love in all willing."

Augustine died on the 28th of August, in the year 430, while the army of the Vandals was clamouring round the walls of his city of Hippo. At the mention of that barbaric horde we may fitly pause, and state the result of Hellenic thought upon the dogmas of the Church.

1. The Church developed its theology partly by means of words and hints derived from Greek and Gnostic speculation. It was not a process of accretion but of unfolding.

2. In spite of certain blunders, even private theologians soon learnt to be very cautious in the use of such words. Tertullian affords a good instance. He saw what elements of Christian truth were contained in Valentinian Gnosticism, and even adopted the word *probole*, used by Valentinus to describe the emanations from God which bridged over the distance between Him and the world. He applies this term to the Logos and to the Spirit, Who derive Their being from the Father, but carefully explains that he does not use it in the Valentinian sense, or mean that the Logos and the Spirit are subordinate emanations distinct from God.

3. Hellenism did not capture the Church. The detestation felt towards it by Celsus, Julian, and Porphyry is sufficient evidence of this. It is true that Neo-Platonism did influence certain individuals, such as Clement of Alexandria; and the truth that was to be found beneath its doctrines was recognized by Augustine and by others.

Nevertheless the Church conquered Hellenism. In the first centuries of the Christian era the heart of Hellenism was Agnostic. In the eyes of Plotinus, the One neither thinks nor exists, and only a secondary divinity belongs to the Mind and the Life which form the other two persons of his trinity. To Basilides, God seemed absolute non-existence; Valentinus was content with postulating that He is unknowable. To the Catholic, God remained what He was in the teaching of Jesus, and for the simple reason that the Church passionately believed that he who had seen Jesus had "seen the Father."

III.

Soon after the death of St. Augustine the Church was grappling with the Nestorian and Eutychian disputes. These controversies involved questions of psychology which philosophy finds difficult to this day, but questions of strictly religious interest were also involved as well. Nestorian doctrine assumed the truth that God makes us the temples of His presence, and then went on to argue that He imparts Himself to men in proportion to their merits, and that Jesus was a man with whom God had gradually and specially connected a divine personality on account of his special moral merits. Nestorianism summed up its antagonism to historical Christianity by denying that Mary was "Mother

of God." This amounted to replacing the Incarnation by an apotheosis, and to a repudiation of those moral lessons which Christians have never ceased to learn from the contemplation of a perfect goodness which chose to be unrecognized, and a divine glory which willed to pass through weakness and obscurity. At the council of Ephesus, in A.D. 431, Nestorianism was met by an unmistakable negative, and thus the orthodox registered their belief that the Son of God "emptied Himself" and became obedient to every sorrow that sweeps across the world :

For supreme Spirit subject was to clay,
And Law from its own servants learned a law,
And Light besought a lamp unto its way,
And Awe was reined in awe,
At one small house of Nazareth ;
And Golgotha
Saw Breath to breathlessness resign its breath,
And Life do homage for its crown to death.

Equally definite was the opposition of the Church in A.D. 451 to the theory of the abbot Eutyches. He taught that in the Incarnation the humanity of Christ underwent a kind of transubstantiation into the Godhead. Such a doctrine would have gone far towards evacuating the moral force of Christ's human example and experiences. It would have reduced His pains and temptations to a dramatic performance. The thought of the Eutychian Christ would have proved no encouragement to a man in his struggle with sin ; it would have depressed him or made him

turn to some more sympathetic mediator. It was the old controversy of Christianity against Gnosticism in a modern shape, just as the struggle with Nestorianism was a struggle against another Judaism. For Gnosticism had fondled the idea of a Christ Who was too divine to know more than the phantoms of human experience, and Judaism had finally acquiesced in the belief that humanity and Deity could only be linked by a connecting bridge of prophets. Therefore to protect the Gospel story, the so-called Athanasian Creed, which fairly represents the theology of the fifth century, declares of the Redeemer that "He is not two, but one Christ: One; not by conversion of the Godhead into flesh, but by taking of the Manhood into God: One altogether; not by confusion of Substance, but by unity of Person."

The development and application of these principles remained for future theologians and councils in the ages which are named "dark" by those who have not been at pains to explore their recesses. Meanwhile, Catholic Christians, if they did not fully know all that they meant by the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation, did know with increased exactness what they did not mean by them. The gain was immense. No friend of progress can regret that the great nations of the North, so soon to be converted to Christianity, did not accept in a mass the demi-god of Arius. No one can be glad that, when the tide of Islam rose, so many Oriental Christians had no better Christ

to fight for than the Christ invented by Nestorius and Eutyches. Catholic dogma had grown mature and proved the ally of that moral realization of God which is always the most genuine and most important realization. The truth of this is not impaired by the fact that this dogma was sometimes associated with secular and even discreditable events. God does not always manifest Himself in the details of human word and action, and yet He does sometimes reveal Himself in the result which they produce. The decrees of some of the great Church councils owed much of their success to episcopal jealousies and imperial wishes for political agreement. It is easier to exaggerate than to disguise these imperfect sanctions of truth. Constantine, during the Arian controversy, acted more as a diplomatist than as a Christian; yet he had a love of justice, even if it was soldierly and rough. St. Cyril, during the Nestorian disputes, was not guiltless of animosity, but he had a keen intellectual insight into the real drift of his opponents' theology; and Nestorius probably never received harsher treatment in the writings of Cyril than Cyril has received from some of the modern critics, who accuse him of "moral and intellectual doketism." Even the saints are not always as black as they are painted.

But whatever blemishes may be recorded of the councils of the Church, it is undeniable that the picture which their decisions presented to the world was the picture presented in the New Testament.

In these decisions an extreme distrust of all extremes is wisely shown, and the private judgments which in earlier times had tinged and disfigured some Christian dogmas wholly disappear. The councils recorded the trustworthy traditions which had been continually realized in those devout Christian lives to which the Trinity and the Incarnation were facts of inward experience. Through doubts and discussions and occasional fanaticisms, it is still the Christ Who appears in His unique perfection. The Christian is therefore justified in regarding the councils as the work of that further reality on which the Church and the Bible both depend, and without which they would both be matters of a merely antiquarian interest. That reality is the divine Spirit, Who lives in every Christian mind, and without Whom "no man can say that Jesus is the Lord."

On account of this connexion between the past and present work of the Spirit, it is impossible to repudiate dogma on the ground that it is not to be discovered in the Bible, even if such an assertion were true. Such a repudiation is often made by men who desire to leave dogma and return to Christ ; but it betrays a mistaken archæology. No one necessarily comes nearer to Christ by training himself to think simply as a Palestinian listening to the Sermon on the Mount. To build a house without chimneys to carry off the smoke, and to defend the eccentricity on the plea that our hardy Saxon ancestors dispensed with such needless and

occasionally dangerous excrescences, is to be guilty of an anachronism and an absurdity. Thanks to creeds and catechisms, the babes and sucklings of the Church can now say what the prophets of early Christianity desired to say ; and the erratic flights which wasted some of the *énergie* of a Clement or an Origen are permanently prevented. It is highly unlikely that St. Paul and St. John would have despised such an improvement, or that a science which speaks of God would have been condemned by them on account of the obvious truism that God is wider than our creeds. The Middle Ages present us with a melancholy instance of the fact that to bury a dogma may cause as much harm as any attempt at a scientific definition. During those Ages all members of the Church retained the belief that the mystical offering of Christ's body and blood to the Father in the sacrament availed for the remission of sins. But they neglected a thorough discussion of the doctrine, and even St. Thomas Aquinas gave it a wholly inadequate treatment. The result of this neglect appeared in a wide growth of superstitions, partly unscriptural and partly immoral—superstitions which have decreased in present Roman Catholic practice. In consequence of these superstitions, Luther and his followers preached a crusade against the Mass. They were often heedless of the truth that it was not necessary for them to oppose any formal dogma of the Church concerning the sacrifice of the Mass, but only certain private opinions and popular

practices. The result was the eruption of a controversy in which professing ministers of the Gospel mixed the arguments of divinity with the ribaldry of the ale-house. The works of Thomas Becon will furnish the curious with abundant illustrations of this repulsive quarrel.

Only when dogma takes unwarrantable liberties with tradition does it hinder that union of Christians which is now desired with growing intensity, not simply as a convenience, nor even as the expression of the brotherhood of men, but as the fulfilment of the will of Christ. The chief Christian communities are really agreed more closely than is generally imagined.

This is shown with conspicuous force if we concentrate our attention on the three groups of Churches united by their visible communion with the bishops of Rome, Constantinople, and Canterbury. The differences are insignificant compared with the differences which separate the sects of Buddhism—a religion which at first studiously laid aside dogmatic debate as bringing no inspiration for a life of virtue. The differences are not greater than those which divide the main sections of Islam—a religion which has been unfavourable to intellectual inquiry. The Churches popularly known as Greek, Roman, and Anglican hold identical views with regard to the being and attributes of the Godhead. It is true that the Orientals do not accept the phrase which declares that the Holy Ghost proceeds “from the Son,” but an examination

of the writings of St. Basil and other Orientals esteemed by the Western Churches cannot fail to beget a mutual understanding. All are agreed with regard to the Person and work of Jesus Christ. Nothing but a verbal distinction divides them on the question of man's justification and acceptance with God. All accept the same New Testament, and the additional value which Roman Catholics set upon the Apocrypha makes no vital distinction. All are agreed with regard to the degrees and duties of bishops, priests, and deacons, and the harmony on this point would be practically unbroken if the bishops of Rome had not extended their primacy of honour to include a primacy of jurisdiction and of truth, and then claimed for it express divine sanction. All agree that the soul is regenerate by Baptism, absolved through the ministry of the priesthood, and sustained by the body and blood of Christ imparted in the Eucharist.

The unity which is implied by the above facts far outweighs in moral consolation the sorrow caused to intelligent minds by the insularity of any particular pope or archbishop. It is quite sufficient to rescue us from the misguided patriotism which tries to convince itself that England or Italy is the land of Goshen, where alone the light of heaven descends in the midst of an Egyptian darkness. And it is equally sufficient to save us from those theories of union which, while making Christianity comprehensive, would also make it incomprehensible. Above all, it restrains us from

a pagan regret for a bygone golden age, and encourages a Christian expectation of a city that "lieth foursquare," where "the nations of them which are saved shall walk in the light."

Of late there has been considerable discussion with regard to a visible union between the Churches of England and Rome. An indiscriminate alliance between members of the two communities is not probable, though it might be greatly furthered by the indiscriminate attacks which treat the teaching of Dr. Pusey as identical with that of Pius IX. It is true that inevitable sympathy arises in the minds of Englishmen who care to study the dogmatic decisions of the council of Trent, and in the minds of Roman Catholics who inquire what mediæval abuses really caused the harsher statements of our Articles. But great difficulties confront us. The chief are two in number. The first touches the veneration of the saints, official Roman Catholic sanction being given to practices which certainly outrun the statements of careful theologians. The second touches the dogma of the infallibility of the pope declared in 1870. Continental Roman Catholics sometimes remain in their Church while ridiculing this doctrine. The more learned and pious sometimes reconcile it to their consciences by private explanations. A French priest once endeavoured to make it appear reasonable to me by assuring me that when officially expounding the truths of the Gospel, he and I were ourselves infallible. The devout Abbé Perreyve, a man of

luminous good faith, maintained that it was useless to discuss whether the pope could be infallible without the bishops of the Church, because an occasion could never be conceived on which the pope would oppose the episcopate on a matter of revealed doctrine.¹ In a word, the moderate party believes that the pope is only infallible when he is the mouthpiece of the Church. If Pius IX. and the Ultramontanes had meant nothing more than this, the doctrine would have been neither urged nor resisted with such intensity. They meant that the pope was not only to speak, but to *will*,² for the entire Christian Society, and that the pope by himself was to exercise an authority in matters of faith equal to that of pope and episcopate together.³

The question of papal infallibility leads us quite easily to the consideration of a point in the Anglican doctrine of the authority of the Church. We hear nothing more often than criticisms directed against Anglicans on the supposition that they are opposed

¹ *Méditations*, p. 163.

² M. Étienne Lamy in *La France Chrétienne dans l'Histoire*, p. 653.

³ It has not been sufficiently recognized that English Protestantism and Secularism gave the Ultramontanes of 1870 one of their most powerful weapons. The definition of the infallibility of the pope was largely the work of Cardinal Manning. His speech in favour of the doctrine at the Vatican Council lasted nearly two hours, and was filled with quotations from English newspapers which had twitted the opposing party as illogical and "declared the Ultramontanes to be alone consistent, frank, and straightforward." No falsehood could better have served the Cardinal's purpose; see Mr. Purcell, *Life of Cardinal Manning*, vol. ii. p. 456, edit. 1.

to any living and authoritative voice of the whole Church. We are told that we simply "go back." These criticisms have been made eagerly by English Roman controversialists, and mildly by such men as the late Dr. Tulloch, the Presbyterian.¹ They are rendered possible by the fact that we do not claim a monopoly of truth, but desire to include under the name of Catholic all Churches which have not deserted the apostolic organization, or the apostolic tradition of faith. It is natural that such a theory should seem too rigid to men who think that "specific polities," whenever devised, do not break the unity of the visible Church, and that it should seem too complicated to those who regard belief in papal infallibility as the test of Catholicity. But I believe this Catholic Church to be neither amorphous nor anæmic. Its authority is not less divine because it is moderate. Its voice is not really silenced by the fact that it cannot at present speak in general councils, such as those of Ephesus and Chalcedon. If the organism is living, the voice is living. And for this cause it is absurd to charge Anglicans with any treason to the present seat of authority when they appeal to history. The witness that the Church gave at Nicæa to the Divinity of Christ is a witness that the Church has never ceased to give. It is a present and authoritative voice depending upon the guidance of the Holy Spirit. That calm sustaining guidance has

¹ *Rational Theology*, vol. i. p. 60: "The Anglo-Catholic system is grounded upon a strange illusion of a golden patristic age."

not been withdrawn on account of the misunderstandings of Christians, though its power has been limited by their dissensions. The Anglican theory certainly never requires men to suppose that no real development of dogma has taken place since the Eastern Churches separated from communion with the West. Such an insinuation should only be heard to be repudiated. Dogma, if undeveloped, would be lifeless and austere, like the stiff and placid faces of the saints in the old Byzantine pictures, growing darker in the smoke of lamps and incense as the years decline and pass. But real dogma is like a living epic. It gains fresh melody and force from the experience of those who have found Christ precious. It comes roughly from the lips of those whose minds are not attuned to God, but sometimes it is a "song celestial," and the teacher deserves the name of "Angel of the Schools."

The issue of the Anglican position as to the necessary elements in Catholic dogma can show itself in the consecration of very varying types of Christian character. There can be no better home than the English Church for that union of intellect and devotion which is not invariably easy. This Church encourages the gay humility, the temper of sweet and serious childhood, which so justly attracts us in the best religion of Italy and France. It encourages the chivalrous fidelity to the past which has nerved the Eastern Churches against the persecutions of Islam. It encourages the enterprise

and vigour of the missionaries and preachers who have been a light to the North from the days of Boniface and Columba. Each Christian should embrace something of these diverse elements as he grows according to the stature of Christ. The attempt to make a kind of character that is typically Anglican, and nothing more, would be treason to our dogma concerning the visible Catholic Church. That dogma reminds us that while we should be thankful to know that the Church of England is part of that Kingdom which God organized eighteen hundred years ago, we should also learn some truth from every other quarter which the Church has occupied. There are countries and dependencies which would have loved England better if Anglicans had been truer to this principle. It is a dogma which will always retain an element of hope and of humility, because to be a good Catholic is not an acquisition, but an ideal.

CHAPTER X.

ON SOME "SCIENTIFIC THEOLOGY."

Trace Science, then, with Modesty thy guide.
First strip off all her equipage of Pride ;
Deduct but what is Vanity or Dress,
Or Learning's Luxury, or Idleness ;
Or tricks to show the stretch of human brain,
Mere curious pleasure, or ingenious pain.

POPE, *Essay on Man*.

THE life of the Christian Church during the first century and a half subsequent to the Crucifixion has furnished material for many a romance and legend.

All wearier times take comfort from the pæan
That tells the night what deeds the sunrise did.

And, as a natural consequence, the authors who have written to satisfy this yearning have not always been content to inquire what the facts really are. They have painted in the distant past the ideals of their own epoch, like mediæval artists who crowned St. Peter with the tiara of a mediæval pope. The boldest and most successful of these romances concerning the dawn of Christianity has been

composed in very recent times. Men are still living who had begun their life when the attempt was made in Germany to reconstruct the whole history of that first century and a half of Christianity. Amidst a widespread ignorance and an uncritical theology Rationalism advanced unrestrained and unabashed. Any supernatural explanation of Christianity was pronounced superfluous. Nothing had been required but a gifted Teacher, and subjective miracles in the minds of his adherents. The books of the New Testament were shuffled like cards in the hands of a trickster. Tendencies were exposed and dates assigned. One book after another was labelled as a forgery of the second century ; while protest was libelled as obscurantism.

Little by little the new construction has been falling down. A deepening knowledge of the Roman Empire, of apocryphal literature whether Jewish or Christian, of Hellenistic philology, of patristic writings, and of human nature, has undermined its fantastic walls. But, in the meanwhile, fictitious results have been in some measure popularized. Many men have accepted certain conclusions while unaware that the premises have been vitally modified. These conclusions affect doctrines which orthodox Christians believe essential to the religion which they profess. It is my desire to discuss a few points in the history of the early Church which appear to me to be adverse to these conclusions.

I.

Our first subject will be the alleged Unitarianism of the early Church at Jerusalem. It is universally recognized that, in the second century, there were some people of Jewish race who claimed to be Christians, but did not believe Jesus to be God. Great advantage has been taken of this fact in the historical reconstruction which I have just mentioned. Professor Huxley, in an essay called *Agnosticism: a Rejoinder*, has vehemently maintained that these Nazarenes or Ebionites—for he scientifically confused the two parties—represented conservative Christianity. He has stated, quite accurately, that the first followers of Christ observed the Law, and has derived from this fact the idea that they were simply Jews believing in the Messiahship of a human Jesus. Then he asks, "If the primitive Nazarenes, of whom the Acts speaks, were orthodox Jews, what sort of probability can there be that Jesus was anything else?" He makes Christianity proper, like the name of Christian, begin among the Gentiles of Antioch. Now this theory was not first suggested by avowed Agnostics. It was a cardinal point in the teaching of the rationalistic German theologians, who started from the straightforward account which St. Paul gives of the difference between himself and St. Peter, then exaggerated the variety of ritual in the primitive Church into a variety of creed, and finally traced with bold imagination the theological

transitions and reconciliations which resulted in the Catholic belief that existed in the latter part of the second century. Their Rationalism, which loudly proclaimed its devotion to criticism, rapidly became the mere championship of a foregone conclusion. The views of Professor Huxley admirably illustrated this *scientific Theology*, "with which," he said, "Agnosticism has no quarrel." He suggested that even the four epistles of St. Paul which critics left practically undisputed "have been seriously tampered with." He pronounced as "quite worthless" the well-supported tradition that the second Gospel "was little more than the mouth-piece of the Apostle Peter." He called the Acts "hardly a very trustworthy history;" and with regard to all evidence of the second century opposed to his contention, he exhibited in the essay above-mentioned a discriminating reticence. This evidence, coupled with that of the New Testament, condemns the theory of Baur and Professor Huxley, that the Ebionites were "just what the Jewish Christians were originally, as distinguished from the Pauline Christians," and supports the statement of St. Epiphanius, that the Ebionites did not arise till after the destruction of Jerusalem, a statement which Baur declared to be "completely unhistorical."

In the first place, the Rationalists have assumed an unwarrantable familiarity with the opinions of the apostles. Christians do not wish to assert that the primitive Church was a "dogmatic

dovecot." It is plain, from Acts xv. 24, that the ecclesiastical authorities of Jerusalem had to condemn a Judaizing party, and that this party, in spite of its condemnation, dogged the steps of the Apostle of the Gentiles, sowing discord in his Churches. But it is equally plain that this faction could not claim the sanction of the Church of Jerusalem, under whose name it sheltered its own extravagances. The decision of the conference at Jerusalem shows that the Church of Jerusalem did not interfere at all with St. Paul's methods of dealing with heathens whom he converted. The apostles merely determined that in Antioch, Syria, and Cilicia, which was practically part of Syria, the Gentiles should observe certain abstinences. They said nothing about circumcision or the Sabbath, but prohibited complicity in idolatry and in the immorality with which Syrian idolatry had been traditionally associated. They also prohibited the eating of blood and things strangled, a practice which might cause friction in the presence of Jewish communities. It is impossible to reconcile this decision with the theory that the apostles were only orthodox Jews. But what of St. Paul's own attitude to Judaism?

Two features of this attitude have been singled out as implying that he and the Church of Jerusalem almost anathematized each other. The first is his rebuke of St. Peter; the second is the action attributed to St. James in Acts xxi. 20.

Now it is perfectly true that St. Paul complains

of St. Peter, and that he charged him face to face with dissimulation. But how this can be construed into a proof that St. James, St. Peter, and St. John were Ebionites, and that St. Paul was in doctrinal antagonism with them, only "scientific Theology" or Agnosticism can imagine. St. Peter was guilty of the mistaken diplomacy of wishing to avoid a quarrel with the Jews at Jerusalem who clung to the customs of their ancestors. St. Paul does not charge him with doctrinal error, though a doctrinal question was ultimately involved. He rebuked him for inconsistency and cowardice. He had first acted as though uncircumcised Christians were fit company for the original apostles of Christ; he had then "dissembled," for he acted as though he had changed his mind when he really had not. "The Epistle to the Galatians," as Professor Huxley said, "furnishes us with the evidence of a participator in the transactions narrated." Precisely. And this evidence is sufficient to prove that St. Peter agreed with St. Paul, but once acted as if he did not. It is as if Archbishop Cranmer, who discontinued wearing a chasuble at Mass after changing his belief as to the Eucharist, had one Sunday again worn a chasuble because he was afraid of the party of Bishop Bonner, and then been rebuked for his dissimulation by Hooper. It was because St. Peter agreed with St. Paul that the latter was able to rebuke him; and subsequent events lead us to believe that St. Peter admitted the rebuke to be just. He was logically compelled

to do so. For, by previously sanctioning the proclamation of the Gospel to "the uncircumcision," he had granted that the revelation of God in Jesus had completely transcended the revelation of God to Moses.

Quite in harmony with this agreement of the apostles is the story in Acts xxi. St. Paul went to visit Jerusalem, and the authorities kindly warned him that certain Jews had studiously circulated the falsehood that he had been trying to make the Hebrew converts outside Palestine desert the old Jewish customs. They therefore suggested that St. Paul should set himself right with the converts in Jerusalem, and show that he kept the Law himself by performing a particular religious act. This is selected as an additional proof of the inveterate Judaism of St. James and his companions. Professor Huxley did not mention in this connection that the Apostle of the Gentiles had quite independently and voluntarily performed a similar religious act at Cenchreæ, where the influence of St. James cannot have been in the ascendant. Yet it is this precedent which shows how unlikely it is that St. James was a blind Judaizer, or that St. Paul considered the freedom he had won for the Gentiles to be a freedom he was always to claim for himself.

Such being the case, we find ourselves disposed to clinch the matter by an appeal to the Epistle of St. James. "Scientific Theology" has tried to place it well onward in the second century. There

is nothing to justify such a manipulation. It breathes the spirit of one who has been converted from Judaism, and who has found a new and royal law which fulfils the old. There is nothing in it to contradict the evidence of Hegesippus and Josephus to the effect that St. James lived like a pious Jew under a Nazarite vow. And, at the same time, its doctrine concerning the Person of Christ is enough to show that the writer was not an Ebionite, but a fit person to be the bishop of a specifically Christian community. It is a proof that the belief of the older apostles implied the truth which St. Paul taught in all its bearings.

So far St. Epiphanius appears to be more accurate than Professor Huxley. The latter appealed to the New Testament; but the New Testament does not support the theory that during the lifetime of St. James the Church of Jerusalem was Ebionite. It remains for us to consider the history of Jewish Christianity after his decease.

This decease took place in A.D. 62, when the apostle, who according to "scientific Theology" was an "orthodox Jew," paid the penalty of his convictions by suffering martyrdom through the cruel efforts of the Jewish highpriest, Hanan II. Four years later, while Gessius Florus was procurator, a revolution broke out at Jerusalem, and the city was given up to faction and massacre. The Zealot party was supreme, and the Zealots were not likely to show mercy towards the Christians. The latter decided to emigrate, and

accordingly moved beyond the Jordan to Pella in Peræa. Here they installed themselves in the kingdom of Agrippa II., who remained faithful to the Romans until his death in A.D. 100. This migration of the Christians probably took place in A.D. 69, after the occupation of Judæa by Vespasian. In the next year Jerusalem was taken by the Romans, access to its site was forbidden to the Jews, and one of the victorious Roman legions settled amid its ruins.

Under Domitian (A.D. 81 to 96) the Christians were treated with greater severity than under Titus. Their numerical strength was probably discovered, not only by the additional measures which Domitian took to secure in the provinces the worship of his own person, but by his rigorous exaction of the tribute of two drachmas from all who were supposed to be Jews. It seems improbable that the Christians would have returned to Jerusalem at such a time; but some apparently did return after the death of Agrippa II., when Trajan was emperor. Under Trajan there was a general toleration of Christianity, except when popular hatred and local outbreaks interfered. In such an outbreak as this, Symeon the son of Clopas, who had succeeded St. James as bishop of Jerusalem, suffered martyrdom. This was in A.D. 110, and as Symeon's accusers were themselves of the tribe of Judah, his martyrdom, like that of James, witnesses to the fact that the difference between Christianity and Judaism was serious.

Hadrian became emperor in A.D. 117, and founded the Gentile colony of *Ælia* on the site of the holy city. The result was a frenzied insurrection of Jews under Barcochba in A.D. 132. Hence the expulsion of the Jews from the colony of *Ælia*. Eusebius gives a list of thirteen bishops "of the circumcision" in Jerusalem between the death of Symeon and the siege under Hadrian. The number appears almost incredible, but Eusebius not only speaks quite confidently, but elsewhere says their names are still remembered by their compatriots. Possibly the community chose aged men who remembered the apostles of Christ, or possibly Eusebius has given us a confused list of simultaneous bishops of different Jewish Christian communities. Eusebius, on the authority of Hegesippus, says that after the death of Symeon heresies began to distress the virgin Church. The nature of these heresies will be indicated in the course of this lecture.

In the meanwhile we may remark that there is further evidence, especially in the Talmud, to show the relations of Jews and Christians during this period. The Sadducean aristocracy largely perished at the time of the first siege, or was dispersed among the small kingdoms on the upper Euphrates. The Zealots were slain or sold into slavery. There remained the Pharisees, some of whom migrated before the siege of Jerusalem. Many settled at Lydda and Jamnia. The latter town became the great seat of Jewish learning. The Jews formed

a tribunal, the "beth-din," and appointed a patriarch, the "ab-beth-din." The old priesthood was replaced by casuists and canonists. If the Christians had been simply a new school of Pharisees we might have supposed that under the pressure of an outward force there would have been some tendency to combine. No supposition could be further from the fact. Allusions in Jewish literature and in Justin, like the descriptions of later Christian writers, show that the Christians were branded with the name of *Minim* or heretics; Jesus was cursed in the synagogues; a scandalous story was circulated to account for His birth; Jewish women who leaned towards Christianity were whipped and cursed; controversies between Jews and Christians were common; Jews, as at the martyrdom of Polycarp, took part in persecuting the Christians; and during the insurrection of Barcochba the insurgents avenged with ferocity the numerous conversions to Christianity which are recorded by the Talmud and by Hegesippus.

In the religious controversy of the time Justin plays a principal part. Born at Neapolis, the ancient Sichem, he travelled through different parts of the Empire, and, wearied with Greek philosophy, found his religious aspirations satisfied by Christianity. He dwelt much at Rome, where he lectured, and composed two Apologies for Christianity. Before A.D. 139, when he presented his first Apology to the Emperor Antoninus, he had written against the Gnostics; and about A.D. 150 he wrote a

controversial work against the Jews, called the *Dialogue with Trypho*, containing some invaluable information on Jewish Christianity.

But leaving Justin for a while, we will inquire of the later writers who give us information concerning Jewish Christians. Near the close of the fourth century, Epiphanius (*adv. Haer.* I. ii. 7) says they flourish "in the town of Beroea in Coele Syria, and also in Decapolis near Pella, and in Basanitis, at the town commonly called Kokabe, but Chochabe in Hebrew."¹ He speaks of two separate sects: the Ebionæans and the Nazoræans. The former believed Jesus to be the son of Joseph. Their New Testament contained only a Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew, though Epiphanius states that at Tiberias there was a Hebrew copy of St. John's Gospel and of the Acts. The Nazoræans preached that Jesus was the *pais* of God; they accepted Him as Christ, but Epiphanius tells us he is unable to say whether they believe Him to be "mere man," or born of Mary and the Holy Ghost.

Light is thrown on this by St. Jerome, who both knew the language and the localities of the Jewish Christians, and had personal intercourse with them. He distinguishes the two sects; and I only know one passage where he apparently confuses them. In writing to Augustine (*Ep.* lxxxix. 4), he mentions "the heresy of Cerinthus and Hebion, who, while believing in Christ, were anathematized

¹ The modern Kaukab, near Nawa.

by the Fathers for the sole reason that they mixed the ceremonies of the Law with the Gospel of Christ, and confessed the new without abandoning the old. What shall I say," he continues, "of the Hebionites, who pretend to be Christians? To this very day there is throughout all the synagogues of the East a sect among the Jews which is called that of the Minei, and to this day it is damned by the Pharisees; people commonly call them Nazarei; they believe in Christ the Son of God, born of the Virgin Mary, and say that it was He who suffered under Pontius Pilate and rose, in Whom we believe: but while they wish to be both Jews and Christians, they are neither Jews nor Christians."

Here St. Jerome is writing hurriedly, as the Latinity proves; and he is discussing the question of observing the Jewish Law, and not the problems of Christology. He groups the two divisions of Jewish Christians together; and his language implies that both sections accepted the Divinity of Christ. But that this was not his meaning is plainly shown by other passages in his works, in which he distinguishes the Ebionites from the Nazarenes, whom he also calls "companions of the Ebionites." He shows that the Ebionites denied the pre-existence of Christ, denied His Divinity, and said that He was born of Mary and Joseph. They also taught that "the Law, which was abolished after the passion of Christ, must be observed." They used the same Gospel of St. Matthew as

was used by the Nazarenes; and "while they receive the rest of the apostles, they repudiate Paul as a transgressor of the Law."

On the contrary, the Nazarenes "receive Christ in such fashion that they do not abandon the observance of the Law;" this, they held, ought to be kept, "though only by the Jews and those of the stock of the race of Israel." They "attempt to join the observance of the old Law with evangelical grace." The passage quoted from the letter to Augustine shows that they believed Christ to be divine and born of a Virgin. They even venerated St. Paul, through whom the Gospel "shone unto the boundaries of the Gentiles." St. Jerome's meaning is therefore abundantly clear.¹ He only once countenances the popular confusion of the sects, both of which appear in his day to have been vulgarly called Nazarene, much as the Dutch in South Africa call Anglicans "Roman," or as any Protestant Dissent in some districts of England is popularly called "Methodistical."

The evidence of St. Augustine, which is partly derived from Philastrius, bishop of Brixia, in the latter part of the fourth century, entirely corresponds with the above interpretation of St. Jerome. He speaks of the Nazarenes as existing in his own time, and as observing the Law. He expressly distinguishes the Nazarenes from the Ebionites, on the ground that the former accepted Christ as "the

¹ The most important passages in Jerome are *in Is.* i. 12, viii. 11, ix. 1; *in Matt.* xii. 1; *in Gal.* i. 1, 11; *in Eph.* iv. 10.

Son of God," while the latter held Him to be only a man (*Ep.* lxxxii. 10; *de Haer.* ix.).

To sum up. We have found (1) that before the destruction of Jerusalem there was a Judaizing party in the Christian Church, but that the leading Jewish Christians, while keeping part of the Law themselves, had no tendency to Unitarianism or to Judaism proper. We have seen (2) that at the end of the fourth century certain of the Jewish Christians were separated from the Church, and held Unitarian opinions; while other Jewish Christians were nearly or wholly orthodox. We must (3) examine the information afforded by writers of the intervening period, observing that we cannot argue from their silence that there were no Pauline Jewish Christians when they wrote. It would have been often quite beside their purpose to mention such Christians, their desire being merely to point out heresy, and not to select instances of orthodoxy.

Early in the fourth century the Ebionæans are mentioned by Eusebius, who does not speak of the Nazarenes. He divides the Ebionæans into two sections. The first were purely Unitarian, and observed the Law. The second also kept Jewish usages while denying the Divinity of Jesus, but admitted His miraculous birth and resurrection. Both sections rejected St. Paul's Epistles, and used only the Gospel according to the Hebrews. Consequently, under the name of Ebionæans, Eusebius includes no Christians of an orthodox belief (*Eus. H. E.* iii. 27).

Early in the third century Origen gives the same account of the Ebionæans as Eusebius. He expressly says that both sections reject St. Paul's Epistles, but that one section confesses, "like us," that Jesus was born of a Virgin, and that the other section denies this (*contra Celsum*, v. 61 ; *in Jer.* xx. 1).

Hippolytus of Rome apparently knows only of one section of the Ebionæans. He says they agree with Cerinthus in believing that Jesus was the child of Joseph and Mary, that Jesus was justified by observing the Law, and they think that they themselves can become Christs by the same process (*Haer.* vii. 33, 34).

Retracing our steps to the second century, we find that St. Irenæus writes of the Ebionæans ; and it is in his works that this name first occurs. His Ebionæans have only one Gospel, reject St. Paul, deny the Virgin birth and Divinity of Christ, practise circumcision, and venerate Jerusalem as the House of God. "They reject," says Irenæus, "the infusion of the heavenly Wine, and will have it to be earthly water alone, not receiving God into that which they mingle." By this Irenæus means that they deny that the Word assumed flesh ; but it seems that his statement also implies that they emphasized their heresy by only using water in the Eucharist—a proof that they made very free with original Christianity (*Haer.* v. 1).

It is evident from the above writers that there did exist a more or less Unitarian Jewish Christianity, including two grades of Christology. At the

same time, they do not show us that these grades of thought implied two distinct sects, nor do they give us any information about the class which Jerome describes as Nazarenes.

Besides these Ebionæans there was a third section of distinctly heterodox Jewish Christians. These are the Essene Ebionites. Their origin is very obscure, but their tenets are reflected in the Clementine Homilies and Recognitions, probably written early in the third century. The Clementines and the description given of these Ebionites by St. Epiphanius show a type of piety so closely allied to that of the Jewish Essenes, that it is probable that some fusion took place between the Essenes and the Ebionites in the second century, when Pharisaism was left as the sole heir of the ancient Jewish creed. The Essene Ebionites rejected St. Paul, but taught a Christology higher than that of the Unitarian Ebionites, saying that Jesus had pre-existed in the form of an angel, superior to other angels, and had been manifested in different personages of the Old Testament.

What, then, are we to say of the more orthodox Jewish Christians mentioned by Jerome, Augustine, and perhaps Epiphanius? Either their school of thought grew up at a comparatively late period under Gentile influence, or they represented the original Christian community by a continuous tradition of belief. The former hypothesis is most improbable. Many of them must have been isolated from the Churches in which Greek was

spoken; influences were near to draw them to Essenism, Ebionism, or Pharisaism, and, what is more important, if they had grown up under Greek influence, they would have shared in Greek sentiment. A community modelled in the third or fourth century would have been more Greek or more Jewish. On the other hand, there is direct evidence between the first and the fourth century of the existence of Jewish Christians whose theology was strongly opposed to Ebionism.

The lost dialogue of Ariston of Pella was the work of a contemporary of Barcochba. A quotation in Jerome and other evidence shows that this Jewish Christian taught the pre-existence and "fulness" of Christ. The Divinity of Christ is also implied in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, a work probably written for controversial purposes. It is the composition of a Jewish Christian who severely rebukes his former co-religionists. It praises St. Paul, and represents Christ as becoming the "fountain unto life" to all mankind. M. Renan says of the author, "No one ever spoke of the Divinity of Jesus in more magnificent terms."

Of greater importance is the evidence of Hegesippus, a writer of memoirs which were used by Eusebius. Soon after the middle of the second century Hegesippus made a journey to the West, and visited Corinth and Rome. He stayed in both these cities, and examined their traditions, apparently in order to write against the heresies

of his day. He quotes much from Clement of Rome, and shows his approval of the "right doctrine" of the Corinthian Church, and his satisfaction at the religious teaching "in every city." It is obvious that this teaching was in harmony with that of Clement, and that Hegesippus, a Palestinian Christian acquainted with Syriac and Hebrew, was orthodox. If it be true that Hegesippus was a Greek Palestinian, our argument is invalidated in one direction, but greatly strengthened in another. His writings furnished Eusebius with much of his information concerning the Church of Jerusalem, and perhaps with the list of the "bishops of the circumcision." If that Church had been heterodox, Hegesippus, whose life overlapped that of the last Jewish bishops, must have known the fact, and, as an orthodox Gentile, he would not have hesitated to record it. And yet "scientific theology" sometimes speaks of Hegesippus as a Judaizer. Baur did this on the most insufficient grounds, and then went on to argue that the sympathy of Hegesippus for Corinthian Christianity shows "that, even in such a Church as that of Corinth, the Jewish Christian or Petrine party had gained a decided ascendancy over the Pauline."¹

The statements of Justin² perfectly agree with the evidence we have quoted. He shows that there were in his day Jews who accepted Jesus

¹ *Church History*, vol. i. p. 88 (Eng. trans.).

² *Dialogue with Trypho*, cc. 47-49.

as the Messiah, and kept the requirements of the Law, without trying to persuade the Gentile Christians to observe these ordinances. There was another class who accepted Jesus as the Messiah, but refused fellowship with Gentiles who did not keep the ceremonial Law. After giving his opinion on these Jewish Christians, Justin turns to discuss the Divinity of Jesus, and says that there are some persons who confess Jesus to be Christ, but regard Him as simply human. There is little doubt that these persons are of Jewish race, and there is considerable probability that they may be the second of the two classes he has just mentioned. They are genuine Unitarians, and as such are condemned by Justin. The fraternal spirit with which Justin speaks of the Jewish Christians who accept Jesus and do *not* compel the Gentiles to Judaize, makes it more than probable that these Jews, whose conduct was not opposed to St. Paul's teaching, held a corresponding theology, and that they believed in the pre-existence and Divinity of Jesus Christ. Eusebius, on the authority of Hegesippus, states that it was after the death of Bishop Symeon that an open attempt was first made to corrupt the "wholesome rule of the saving message." I believe that it was at this period, when the Jewish Christians were more numerous than united, that the tendency which the apostles had suppressed developed into the Unitarian and Jewish heresy mentioned by Justin. That this heresy did not absorb all the Jewish Christians is

nearly as plain as the fact that it did not represent the original Jewish Christianity of apostolic times.

The final disappearance of Ebionism is hidden in obscurity. One thing we know. Two hundred years after the time of St. Jerome, a young Arabian used to visit Syria to trade in the interests of a rich widow of his country. That young commercial traveller wrote a book which, next to the Bible, is the most famous in the world. In it Jesus is taught to be the sinless Messiah and the Word of God. Strange legends hang round His infancy, there is a wild travesty of the Eucharist, and He dies in appearance only, another form being substituted for His upon the Cross. His Divinity is passionately denied, and the repudiation of a Trinity is rendered complete by the identification of the Holy Spirit with the angel Gabriel. That Muhammad should have learnt these stories from Arabian Jews is hardly probable. But they may well be borrowed from the Essene or Unitarian Ebionites. And if it be so, the struggle between St. Paul and the preachers of "another Gospel" finds expression in the Crusades, in the disdain felt by a modern Moslem for the man whom he calls a "Nazarene," and in the Armenian massacres of 1895.

II.

The second question which I will briefly discuss is the Paschal controversy of the second century—

a controversy intimately linked with the question of the authenticity of the fourth Gospel. No one is ignorant of the pertinacious attacks of Rationalism upon this Gospel, or of the fact that this attack has been stimulated by the recognition that in this Gospel Jesus claims equality with the Father more openly than elsewhere. And the special point where the Rationalists claimed to have gained a clear and scientific victory was this: They held that they had proved—and Dr. Martineau has repeated the accusation—that the author of the fourth Gospel “deliberately shifted” the date of the Last Supper to Nisan 13th, a day earlier than the Passover. But, they urged, the Asiatic Churches unquestionably connected with St. John observed their Paschal festival when the Jews observed it: that is, they kept as sacred the evening which closed the 14th day of the month Nisan, an act which implied Jewish prepossessions. The conclusion was, that the real St. John could not have been the author of a Gospel which, they have been bold enough to assert, first became known in the sixth or seventh decade of the second century. The beloved disciple is represented by these critics as founding a retrograde and Judaizing faith on the ruins of the Christianity taught by St. Paul in Asia Minor.

The late Bishop Lightfoot pointed out the glaring improbability of this hypothesis of a theological rebuilding. It would have necessitated an absolute revolution; and yet all ancient writers,

including St. Irenæus, are absolutely silent about it, and equally silent about the second revolution which must, on this hypothesis, have been necessary before a return to such a Pauline Christianity as marked the writings of Apollinaris, bishop of Hierapolis. That St. Irenæus, who had reached middle age when this second revolution is supposed to have occurred, should show no knowledge of such vital controversies is a fact calculated to arrest the career of scientific imagination. Neither he nor any one else betrays an acquaintance with any doctrinal schism in the Asiatic Church, and the Paschal controversy corroborates the evidence of his silence. The very existence of that controversy proves that the Churches, in the different countries affected by the dispute, were so thoroughly united by creed and organization that they were sensitive even about a divergence on a point of chronology. It would have been impossible for Christians to discuss it as they did, unless they had been in fundamental agreement, just as it would have been impossible in the seventh century for the Celtic monks in Northumbria to discuss a similar Paschal difficulty with the clergy of the Roman mission, unless each party had assumed that the opposing party was orthodox in doctrine. This consideration has not had due weight with the critics who hold that Catholic Christianity was a second century blending of two opposing faiths concerning Jesus, and that the Paschal controversies were the death-note of a "narrow Jewish

Church" of the first disciples, which was overwhelmed by the false though successful idealism of St. Paul.

An analysis of the rationalistic arguments employed with regard to the Easter controversies shows that the following assumptions have been made:—

1. That the Paschal disputes of the second century simply involved one particular controversy.

2. That this controversy was occasioned by the fact that the representatives of the Asiatic Churches, with the exception of Apollinaris of Hierapolis, observed the 14th day of the month Nisan as the day on which Jesus kept the Last Supper, and that they were called Quartodecimans, or by the corresponding Greek name, in consequence.

3. That the Asiatic Churches, known to have been founded by St. John, were therefore in opposition to the Gospel attributed to St. John, in which Gospel Christ eats the Last Supper on the evening which closed Nisan 13th.

4. That the Church of Rome differed on this question from the Churches of Asia in such a way as to imply that it was under Gentile influence as opposed to the Jewish influence supposed to be dominant in the Johannine Churches.

5. That the vigour of the Jewish usage is further proved by the fact that orthodox Christians in some parts of the East kept Nisan 14th as holy until the council of Nicæa suppressed the custom in A.D. 325.

The historical materials at our disposal present insuperable difficulties in the way of each of these assumptions. In the first place, they are opposed to the hypothesis that there was only one Easter controversy in the second century, when Polycarp, Melito, Sagaris, and Papirius defended the Quartodeciman use against the custom of keeping the Paschal festival on the Sunday after Nisan 14th. There appear to have been two controversies. The earlier is that referred to by Melito, bishop of Sardis, by Clement of Alexandria, Hippolytus, and Apollinaris. Clement and Hippolytus point us to the heart of the problem. They show themselves plainly convinced that Christ was crucified on Nisan 14th, and their contention is that He did not keep the Jewish Passover. Clement and Hippolytus themselves kept the "Dominical" usage, *i.e.* they kept their Passover on the Sunday after Nisan 14th. But Apollinaris almost certainly followed the Quartodeciman usage, for he calls Nisan 14th "the true Passover of the Lord." And yet Apollinaris unites with Clement and Hippolytus in opposing the opinion that Christ suffered on Nisan 15th. The dispute with which they deal is one which arose between the years 164 and 168, and Melito says it broke out first at Laodicea. Certain Christians held the idea, not yet extinct, that Christ had kept the Jewish Passover, and they observed the Jewish Passover in their desire of imitating the example of Christ. It would naturally follow that they believed Christ to have been

crucified on Nisan 15th. Details with regard to the controversy are scanty, but as Eusebius implies that Clement wrote against Melito, we may assume that Melito supported the Judaizing party. This dispute, though it involved the question of the date of the Passover, did not immediately concern it. The stress which Clement lays upon the fact that the Son of God is the true Paschal Lamb suggests that the main point was that the Laodiceans ate a lamb on Nisan 14th, and this is suggested by the argument of Hippolytus.

It may be urged that the above interpretation simply leaves a fresh weapon in rationalistic hands by admitting that certain Asiatic Christians acted contrary to the historical statements of the fourth Gospel. If truth so require, we may be content. But, on any hypothesis, the dispute in which Melito and Apollinaris were engaged does little to displace the author of that Gospel from "his traditional residence and authority at Ephesus." It was not treated as the outcome of any theological difference such as separated the Unitarian Ebionites from the orthodox of Palestine. There is consequently nothing to show that the Laodiceans disagreed with the high theological teaching about the Son of God which the fourth Gospel contains. It was not treated as involving any observance of the fast which the Jews commenced immediately after their Passover, at the moment when the Quartodecimans ceased from fasting.¹ There is

¹ Eus. *H. E.* v. 23: Epiph. *adv. Haer.* III. i. 11.

consequently nothing to make us doubt that the Laodiceans held the Pauline doctrine that the death of Christ annulled the Law. It is quite possible that the Laodicean usage was as much a revolution at Laodicea as at Hierapolis, for we have a clear instance of such a revolution in ritual being made by the Phrygian Novatians.¹ Above all, the Laodicean party does not appear to have appealed to the example of St. John, though the genuine Quartodecimans certainly did. The only claim to represent Johannine doctrines was made by its opponents.

However this may be, there can be no doubt that the true Quartodeciman difficulty, noticed by St. Polycarp of Smyrna some ten years before the dispute at Laodicea, supports the authenticity of the fourth Gospel. The hostile arguments contain a cardinal vice. It is certainly true that the fourth Gospel makes the Jews sacrifice the Passover and Jesus die on the same day, Nisan 14th. And it is also true that the Quartodecimans kept their Passover on Nisan 14th. But what did they mean by keeping the Passover? It has been assumed by the German Rationalists and Dr. Martineau that "the primary object of their commemoration"² was the Last Supper. As a

¹ Socrates, *H. E.* iv. 28, tells us that in the reign of Valens the Phrygian Novatians deliberately altered the date of keeping Easter to bring it into accordance with the Jewish usage. Socrates' account of the Novatians is so unprejudiced and minute that his statement is above suspicion.

² *Seat of Authority in Religion*, p. 230. A refreshing contrast

matter of fact their primary object was to commemorate the death of Christ and the Resurrection by which that death was "swallowed up." They did not mean to keep an anniversary of the institution of the Eucharist, but an anniversary of the death of the divine Paschal Lamb. Even the Laodicean party kept the anniversary of Christ's last evening before His death more as a memorial of His eating the Jewish lamb than as a memorial of the institution of the Eucharist. Ancient writers unite to prove that the celebration of the Christian Passover was not regarded as a memorial of the institution of the Eucharist; and it is known that some dissident sects held their Passover on a fixed day in order to keep it always on the day when they believed Christ to have suffered.¹ It was not until the thirteenth to the statements of Dr. Martineau is afforded by the section devoted to this question in the *Théologie Johannique* of Professor Reuss. The author, though no friend of orthodoxy, says that "no reason to conclude against the Johannine origin of the fourth Gospel" is afforded by the usage of the Asiatic Christians. He says nothing about an anniversary of the Last Supper, and asks, "What would prevent our saying that these Christians kept as festal the 14th, the day of the death of Jesus, sacrificed as the true Paschal Lamb? At any rate it is what the Apostle of the Gentiles actually taught at Ephesus (1 *Cor.* v. 7), and beyond a doubt, this idea, quite conformable to the point of view from which apostolic theology generally determined the relations between the Gospel and the Law, would sufficiently explain the usage of the Churches of that country."

¹ Socrates, *H. E.* i. 9, quotes the circular addressed to the Churches by Constantine after the Nicene Council. In it is said that "our Saviour handed on to us one day on which our freedom was gained, that is, of His most holy Passion," and this is then described as "the most holy feast of the Passover."

century, when the Western Church adopted the observance of Corpus Christi day, that an anniversary in exclusive honour of the Eucharist was inaugurated. On the contrary, the Mass of Maundy Thursday was simply a reminder of a great incident of the Passion, and it was not the central point of the Christian celebration of the Passion.

Another significant fact supports the evidence above mentioned. Primitive tradition fixed the descent of the Holy Spirit on a Sunday. Now the book of Acts records this event as having taken place on the day of Pentecost. This could not have been the case unless the Resurrection took place on Nisan 16th and the Passion on Nisan 14th.¹ Pentecost always fell on a fixed day of the month, seven weeks and two days after Passover. If the Passion had taken place on Nisan 15th, Pentecost would not have fallen on a Sunday.

The conclusion is simple. The Quartodecimans rightly believed the Eucharist was instituted on

Soz. *H. E.* vii. 18, in describing the way in which the schismatic Sabbatius "kept the Passover," mentions that he fasted on Saturday at the season of the Jewish festival, and partook of the mysteries the next morning. He did not commemorate the Last Supper.

Epiph. *adv. Haer.* II. i. 1, says the Quartodecimans wished to keep the Passover on the day on which the apocryphal Acts of Pilate say "the Saviour suffered."

¹ The same fact is supported by a Jewish liturgical usage. St. Paul, while discussing the Resurrection in *1 Cor.* xv. 23, speaks of Christ as the "firstfruits." It is natural to suppose that he alludes to the Paschal firstfruits, and these were offered on Nisan 16th. If so, the Apostle implies that Christ died on Nisan 14th.

the evening which closed Nisan 13th. This was held equally by the "Dominical" party. And it is precisely what is implied by the fourth Gospel. Hence we may judge of the accuracy of Baur, who says that the author of the Gospel was a different man from the Apostle John, because there was an obvious opposition between the Churches of John and this Gospel. Nor is that enough. The fourth Gospel is scorned by Baur as containing a deliberate deception. He says, "It is impossible to disregard the attitude of the Gospel of John with regard to the dispute. It takes its stand most decidedly upon the side of the Western tradition. It is evidently with deliberate purpose that it arranges its account of the death of Jesus in such a way as to preclude the idea that His last meal was the Passover."¹

To come to our fourth point. Baur says that the Western Christians thought there was "no reason to take the 14th of Nisan into account at all in connection with the Christian celebration of Easter."² He therefore assumes that the Roman Church was under an "anti-Jewish tendency" as opposed to the Jewish and primitive tendencies prevalent in Asia. No such difference existed. The Asiatics commemorated the Passion on Nisan 14th, the Romans on a day between Nisan 14th and Nisan 20th inclusive. The discussion was not without bitterness, but history is

¹ Baur, *Church History*, vol. i. p. 173 (Eng. trans.).

² *Ib.*, p. 170 (Eng. trans.).

full of examples of bitterness concerning differences which are the offshoots of a fundamental agreement. Such was the case in this Paschal controversy. Both at Rome and in Asia it was believed that Christ died on Nisan 14th. This is proved by the Easter table drawn up by St. Hippolytus in A.D. 222. In this table the day we call Good Friday is so calculated as to never fall before Nisan 14th.

One instructive fact remains. Baur gives a final high light to his portrait of the struggle between the Jewish and the Gentile sections of the Church by saying that the difference between this Quartodeciman use and the Western use was one of the causes of the council of Nicæa.¹ Here was an eloquent survival. As late as A.D. 325 there were members of the Church who retained the Jewish practice. How deep the old Ebionite conviction must once have been! Unfortunately many orthodox Christians held the same view as Baur about this survival. The opinion is unnecessary and untrue. The Asiatic Churches had adopted the "Dominical" use long before the council of Nicæa, and the old Quartodecimans were then only a body of obscure sectaries nearly approaching extinction. The Paschal debate at Nicæa was between the Alexandrine and the Antiochene,

¹ *Op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 172 (Eng. trans.), "Though the Roman custom more and more gained the upper hand, yet the difference continued to exist even in later times, and was in fact one of the causes of the Council of Nice (*sic*)."

or "Eastern" party.¹ The Antiochenes were criticized for upholding "a more Jewish way" than their brethren elsewhere, and for "following the custom of the Jews." Nevertheless it was on Sunday that they kept their festival, like the rest of the Christian world. Their Judaism was not a matter of dogma, but of astronomy. They waited till the Jews kept Nisan 14th, and then they kept the next Saturday evening and Sunday as the Christian feast. At Alexandria and Rome the Christians were more enterprising. They calculated Easter for themselves, and prided themselves on calculating it more correctly than the Jews, who sometimes kept the same festival twice in one year. The Nicene Fathers ratified the Alexandrine usage. That they condemned the usage of the original Quartodecimans is as improbable as that the next Pan-Anglican Conference will condemn the ritual of the Quakers.

We may therefore feel convinced that the Rationalist theologians who regard the Paschal controversies as a proof of the Ebionism of the early Church are making a very untimely use of ancient chronology. They have unsheathed a sword for their own wounding, and before long they will hesitate to repeat with the confidence of Dr. Martineau that they show us "the whole

¹ See Duchesne, *Origines du Culte Chrétien*, p. 227, and *Revue des Questions Historiques*, for July, 1880. Socrates, *H. E.* v. 22, distinguishes the original Quartodecimans who observed the 14th from those in "the Eastern regions" who kept "the Saturday of the feast;" which implied the Sunday also.

authority of the Apostle John, his personal habit, and the usage which formed itself under his influence, brought to bear against the historical statement and doctrinal conception of the fourth Gospel." ¹

¹ *Seat of Authority in Religion*, p. 235.

CHAPTER XI.

THE GROWTH OF CHRISTIAN WORSHIP.

And then the organ sounds, and unseen choirs
Sing the old Latin hymns of peace and love,
And benediction of the Holy Ghost ;
And the melodious bells among the spires,
O'er all the housetops, and through heaven above,
Proclaim the elevation of the Host !

LONGFELLOW.

I.

WORSHIP is not made ; it grows. Planted in the soil of Christendom it has risen upward, slowly lifting its leaves and fragrance to the glory of God and the consolation of mankind, watered with the dew of grace, and tended by the light of the eternal Word. We may say that worship in a special sense belongs to Christianity ; for of the three religions which in some way or other lay claim to universality, Christianity alone is really inspired with the idea of worship. Buddhism has only developed worship by consistent unfaithfulness to its primitive character. The worship of Islam, impressive in its silence and precision, has nothing of Christian gladness and exaltation. The Moslem

recites fifty or more brief formulae in one day, everywhere in the same language, and always liable to be invalidated by previous mistakes in ceremonial washing. Christian worship is unique, for it is the effect of two causes, never combined elsewhere or, at least, never combined in the same proportion. The first cause is a conviction that there exists one God, Whose character is suggested by what is highest in man's own spirit; and the second is a faith in sacramentalism, a system in which the material world and the human senses are recognized to be a means of drawing near to God.

It was the custom of Christ and His disciples to attend the services of the Temple, and the only action of Christians which was adverse to that orderly and splendid worship, was to abandon the propitiatory sacrifices which had no value for them after the Ascension. Even with regard to minuter regulations, Christ condemns them not, but only the relative value attached to their practice. There is a burning denunciation of the reduction of religion to a pastime by tithing mint and cleansing platters, when the weightier matters of the Law are omitted. But it is the spirit and not the action which is condemned. Christ sanctions expressive ceremonies. The woman who washed His feet with tears and anointed them with ointment is a rebuke to Simon, who could be hospitable, but forgot to be gracious; Christ, as Richard Hooker says, "not so much respecting what was less done as what was signified less." And in the rite which He instituted, and

by which He emphasized His unique position, He set the seal of command upon what was at once most simple and most profound. In continuing its observance, Christians enshrined it in a liturgy modelled on the liturgy of the synagogue, which contained readings from the Law and the Prophets, the singing of psalms, and a homily. It appears from the first Epistle to the Corinthians, that during the assembly of the faithful it was the custom for the "prophets" and others to make utterances according to the moving power of the Spirit. The same custom is corroborated by the directions of the *Didache*, which may reasonably be placed within the first century. Here formulae of a markedly Jewish type are provided for the use of the celebrant at the liturgy, while the prophets are left at liberty to "make the Eucharist" according to their own will. A liturgical prayer of a different and fuller type, such as was doubtless used at Rome at the close of the first century, is preserved to us in the letter of St. Clement. In its supplication for all sorts and conditions of men, for those in prison or sickness, for little children and for emperors, for peace and guidance, it presents a plain analogy to the supplications offered three centuries later, after or before the consecration. It should be also noticed that this prayer contains a clear recognition of the Divinity of Jesus Christ, Who is ranked with the Father in the work of preserving the elect.

A liturgical confession of the Divinity of Jesus

is also mentioned in the famous letter written in A.D. 112 by Pliny. This cultured pagan gentleman declares that the Christians affirmed "that they were wont to meet together on a fixed day before the dawn, and repeat alternately a hymn to Christ *quasi deo* . . . and after this it had been their habit to disperse and to meet together again to take food." The day on which this "food" was eaten was, no doubt, Sunday, which was a "fixed day" when St. Paul wrote to Corinth in A.D. 57,—a proof that the first generation of Christians was so convinced of the truth of the Resurrection, that they selected the day of its occurrence for the one specifically Christian service. But why did the Christians mentioned by Pliny first meet together before dawn? Lactantius and St. Jerome, writing in the fourth century, have told us the reason. It was a Jewish tradition that the Messiah would come in the middle of the night, like the destroying angel at the first Passover in Egypt. Jerome believes that in consequence of this tradition the Christians kept a vigil on the evening before Easter, "expecting the advent of Christ." And just as the Easter solemnities were the prototype of Sunday observance, so the Easter vigil became a model for Saturday night. In principle, the service was meant to last all night, and hence the old Greek name, *παννυχίς*. But though the spirit was willing the flesh was weak, and consequently it became usual to divide the vigil. A service was kept at sunset on Saturday, called *λυχνικόν*,—in Latin,

lucernare,—the service at the lighting of the lamps ; and another service was held at cock-crow, a little before the dawn.

A little later than the date of Pliny's letter, about A.D. 140, St. Justin Martyr gives us an account of the Eucharist. He says that on the day of the Sun all meet together. The memoirs of the apostles, or writings of the prophets, are read. An exhortation is then given. All rise, and intercessions are made. Bread, and wine, and water, are brought. A long thanksgiving follows, the congregation answering "Amen." All then communicate, and part of the consecrated elements is reserved and sent to the absent. In another passage St. Justin mentions the kiss of peace which the Christians gave to one another before the offertory. He is not writing for Christian readers, and he avoids technical terms, but we can see how faithfully the outlines of the service of later times reflect his description.

A word as to the history of the Saturday night vigil before the Eucharist. In the Oriental Churches it remains at Easter and other festivals, and the cathedrals of Moscow and St. Petersburg are crowded for some hours before midnight. In the West, the long vigil service of Easter Eve, with its baptisms and blessing of the Paschal candle, was centuries ago transferred to the Saturday afternoon, and is now generally said on Saturday morning. The first Mass of Easter has followed in its wake, and hence the festal white vestments

worn in Roman churches before the fast of Lent is actually concluded. But we have a survival of the ancient vigil much nearer home than in Russia. It is found in the traditional services of Christmas Eve. The mediæval custom in England was not to attend a Mass before retiring to bed, but to rise before dawn on Christmas Day. This custom still survives in Wales. In some Welsh parishes it is an immemorial tradition to hold very early on Christmas morning a service to which, within our century, the peasants in some places walked in procession with torches. The Welsh name for the service is *plygain*, and if, like other Celtic ecclesiastical terms, this name be derived from the Latin, we see it is not far removed from *pulli cantus*. There is indeed every reason why it should be called the service of the cock-crow, for it is a very early Mattins followed by the Eucharist. It is the practice that was usual every Sunday with the men who remembered the apostles of our Lord.

The Canons of Hippolytus, which now exist only in Arabic and Ethiopic translations, record some important features of the worship of the Roman Church as it existed at the close of the second and beginning of the third century. They show a close similarity to the features of the service described by Justin. The bishop apparently celebrated every Sunday. The faithful were forbidden to taste of any food before communicating. The clergy were to be "clad in vestments more beautiful than all

the people, and as splendid as possible." The Eucharist began with the reading of Scripture "until all the people are gathered together." A sermon was preached, and apparently some confession was made. The kiss of peace was given, and immediately afterwards a deacon brought the oblations to the bishop. The Eucharistic prayer was believed to involve the making of an "offering." To each communicant was said, "This is the body of Christ," and "This is the blood of Christ," and he replied "Amen" on receiving the body, and again on receiving the blood. If a presbyter was sick, the mysteries were taken to him by a deacon. It is to be remarked that these Canons contain the earliest definite reference to the *Sursum corda*. Even in that distant age were repeated the sonorous words—

The Lord be with you,
And with thy Spirit.
Lift up your hearts,
We lift them up unto the Lord.
Let us give thanks unto the Lord,
It is meet and right so to do.¹

II.

We pass beyond brief and isolated allusions when we reach the writings of the fourth century. It was an age in which the Church advanced from strength to strength, beset by God behind and before. Theologically, artistically, and liturgically,

¹ See Mr. Headlam's article in the *Guardian*, Feb. 12, 1896.

it is an age of absorbing interest. In the great cities of the Empire rose spacious churches, their architecture having analogies with the Roman law court, the Roman private house, and the apse or alcove which was sometimes built into the law court to dignify the prætor's seat, and sometimes erected for sacred funeral feasts in public cemeteries. And meanwhile the Oriental love of contemplation, fusing itself with a hatred of contaminating heathen society, caused multitudes of men and women to adopt the monastic life. There were, therefore, more people with time to make prayer their labour, and more buildings in which to meet. Hence the development of the daily *oratio* as distinct from the *oblatio* of the Eucharist, which was not always offered daily. The Christian Evensong and Mattins, the worship at the lighting of the lamps, and the worship at cock-crow, have been already mentioned. These were now held daily in the churches. In addition, the monks and nuns sang services at the third, sixth, and ninth hours, hours previously observed by the Jews and also, in private, by some of the devouter Christians. Compline existed already in a rudimentary form, but, like the corresponding morning service of Prime, it was now and for some centuries said in the monastic dormitory and not in church. Compline and Prime were the monks' prayers at uprising and at lying down to rest. Coincidentally with the increased services came another change. To be sure of a congregation is

to be fairly sure of a choir. Hence, in the middle of the fourth century there was originated at Antioch the custom of antiphonal chanting, verse being answered by verse. At an earlier date, singing had been of a very different kind. Christians stood and listened to a solo, to which they sang responses, and in the Irish Church this practice survived till the seventh century. But in more civilized regions the new fashion was received with eagerness, and it was very soon accepted in Milan and Constantinople.

Stately and impressive as were these public devotions, they could not compare with the celebration of the Eucharist in the fourth and fifth centuries. Think for a moment of some severe and exquisite basilica such as may still be seen unruined in Rome and Thessalonica, and on both shores of the Adriatic. You pass into a building luminous with sunlight and with lamps, and into an air perfumed with incense.¹ Between long rows of solemn pillars crowned with capitals of crisp and deeply fretted foliage, there is worshipping a congregation of rich and poor, in separate ranks of men and women. The walls are inlaid, as an ancient poem says of the cathedral of St. Sophia, with stones that have caught the warmth of the Libyan sun, or are like the blue cornflower sprinkled with the driven snow. Far eastward, beyond a pavement of porphyry and white marble,

¹ The use of lamps and incense is described in the *Peregrinatio Silviae*, written probably in the reign of Theodosius.

as though beyond the sea of glass that is mingled with fire, the sight is bounded by an apse which displays the vision of our Lord in glory. In the shadow of the apse is prominently seen the bishop on his massive central throne, and around him his attendant clergy, robed in white albs and flowing chasubles. Between the priests and the people stands a canopy which rests upon four pillars carved with tendrils of the vine and the monogram of Christ. These sustain embroidered curtains, closed during the supreme action of the service, until they are drawn that the faithful may approach the altar of the Lord. It was like the Apocalypse on earth ; and though these churches have been marred by the axes of Moslem fanatics, or bedizened with the paints of rococo decorators, they are still, in their vigour and repose, what we should wish the resting-place of God with man to be.

We may now describe the service as it existed in Syria in the fourth century, since it is of the Syrian rite that we possess the fullest knowledge.

A reader went into a pulpit and read two or more lessons. After each pair of lessons another reader sang a psalm. The collect, so called because repeated *ad collectam*, i.e. at the gathering of the congregation, is a Western prayer, and was not used in the East. The custom of reading two lessons before the lesson from the Gospel is still quite widespread. The psalm before the Gospel is that still known in the West as the

Gradual, because it was sung from the *gradus*, or pulpit step. The Gospel was read by a priest or deacon, the whole congregation standing in token of reverence. After the Gospel came the sermon. When it is ended, the catechumens who are being prepared for baptism are dismissed, and also the penitents who desire a second admission into the Church after being excommunicated for grave sins. The first division of the liturgy is finished.

The deacon then recites a litany for the Church, the clergy, the sick and others in necessity. Each petition is taken up by the appeal *Kyrie eleison*, which sounds so pathetically to this day in the ears of those who attend an Oriental service. Let us note in passing that the Nicene Creed was first inserted in the liturgy at Antioch near the close of the fifth century.

The deacons now prepare the sacred oblations. The bishop washes his hands in sign of that innocence which befits him who would "go unto the altar of God," he clothes himself in a festal dress, he crosses himself upon the brow, and bids the people to lift up their hearts. And so he proceeds to the preface as we do at this day, speaking of the marvels of God in the regions of nature and of grace, and of the spirits who adore in heaven; with whom the congregation join in singing, "Holy, holy, holy." Then the celebrant commemorates the Incarnation and the Passion, and repeats the words that were spoken at the holy table in the

upper room, "in remembrance of Me." The celebrant, as if inspired by the command, speaks of Christ's Passion, Resurrection, Ascension, and Return, and beseeches the Father to send down upon the elements the Holy Spirit to make them the body and the blood of Christ. The prayerful intention of the celebrant is directed towards a consecration of the elements at this petition, and not at the words, "This is My body." Those words were only recited in preparation for the actual consecration. This is still the unvarying custom in the East. It is implied by the liturgy, beautiful in its primitive dignity and fervour, which the Scottish bishops of the eighteenth century reformed for the perpetual benefit of their Church of the "remnant." It is implied, though the modern rubrics contradict it, in the paragraphs of the Roman canon which begin with the words, *Supra quae* and *Supplices te rogamus*, and in which it is asked that the oblations may be carried to God's altar on high.

After the consecration the celebrant prays for the emperor and army, for the departed saints who have pleased God since the world began, for slaves and prisoners, for those who hate us and despitefully use us. Then the "Our Father" is recited. The almost universal custom was for all the congregation to join in the "Our Father"; but St. Gregory shows us that at Rome it was recited by the celebrant alone, and this is still the Roman custom. Soon afterwards took place the breaking

of the bread. This "fraction" is mentioned by St. Chrysostom. In some countries it assumed a very elaborate form. The Western practice of singing the *Agnus* at the fraction dates from Pope Sergius, who died in A.D. 701. The words, "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord," which at a later date were inserted before the consecration, were sung when the priest showed the sacrament to the people before communion.

The celebrant, having received the sacrament, then gave communion, first to the clergy, then to the laity, including the little children. The faithful received the body of the Lord precisely as we do, on the right hand placed across the left. A deacon administered the chalice. To each communicant the celebrant said, "The body of Christ," the deacon saying, "The blood of Christ, the cup of life." The communicant replied, "Amen,"—a devout custom nearly extinct among us, but still practised in some parts of England. Communion in both kinds is still given in the East, but in the West the chalice was generally withheld from the laity after the thirteenth century, doubtless on account of the risk of any profanation.

During the Communion was sung Ps. xxxiv., in which occur the words, "O taste and see how gracious the Lord is." At the end of the fourth century it was a general custom to sing at the Communion a psalm with its *Gloria* and its antiphon. The antiphon now remains alone. Our hymn, "Draw nigh and take the body of the

Lord," is the translation of a Communion hymn used in the ancient Gallican services in Britain. The service concluded with a prayer and blessing. After this the congregation was solemnly dismissed by a deacon. The word *missa*, used in Rome to signify this dismissal, became applied in the fourth century to the entire service, and hence the various forms of the word "Mass" in modern languages.

Such was the divine liturgy during the fourth century. The main outlines of the service were everywhere the same, but the Eucharist was already assuming five different forms. The *Syrian* service just described is at the present day represented by the liturgy of St. James, still occasionally employed in the orthodox Greek worship; by the liturgies of the Monophysite heretics in Syria, and of the Maronites: the liturgies of the Nestorians are in Syriac, but independent. On the other hand, the liturgy used in the fourth century at Cæsarea and *Constantinople*, and closely similar to the Syrian rite, survives in the ordinary services of the Greek Church in all countries, and also in the superb liturgy of the Armenians. The *Alexandrine* service of the fourth century has left descendants in the liturgies of the Coptic Christians in Egypt and of the Abyssinians. The orthodox Christians of Alexandria continued for some centuries to use their original service, named after St. Mark, and five copies of it still exist. It was in time supplanted by the use of Constantinople.

The *Roman* service of the fourth century was destined to become even more widespread than that of Constantinople. It became gradually altered by private prayers at the Confession, Offertory, and Communion, and by other changes, the most remarkable of which is the transference of the intention to consecrate to the words of institution as described above, and the omission of a prayer for firstfruits before the words *haec omnia bona*,¹ which the celebrant has now to accommodate to the consecrated sacrament. But much of the austerity and majesty of the old Roman Mass remains, and we can feel how well it represented the august position of the Roman see. It has not only held its ground, but encroached upon the liturgies of the fifth or *Gallican* type. The Mozarabic Mass, which belongs to this last type, is still celebrated daily in a Renaissance chapel attached to the famous cathedral of Toledo in Spain. That desolate service, which has the characteristics of an Oriental liturgy, is substantially the service of Spain, France, and Britain, as it was when Augustine landed on the shores of Kent. A form of it still survives in the province of Milan, extending even to some parishes in Southern Switzerland. There can be no doubt that Milan's "mount of marble" will always shelter it, though it is now so Romanized that the Oriental origin of this Milanese or "Ambrosian" rite has been

¹ This fact, which was suspected for other reasons, is proved beyond dispute by the prayer given in the *Canons of Hippolytus*.

disputed. In Celtic districts it was, as a few books show, first blended with the Roman Mass. Steadily, both here and in France, the Roman use divided and conquered the power of its ancient rival. But it was influenced by that rival, and we may notice two possible traces of that influence. At the cathedral of Lyons during the Communion of the people the bishop, if present, gives them his blessing. That is an old Gallican custom, and we can hardly doubt that St. Aidan and St. Columba kept it. Another Gallican usage was to prepare the elements for the altar before the service began, and not at the offertory. This is still the rule in the churches of the Dominican friars. It also was usual in England throughout the Middle Ages, and, in spite of our rubric, it is to be found to this day in some of our old-fashioned country churches.

In speaking of the liturgical intercourse between the North and the South of Europe we may notice a novelty, for which the seventh century was probably responsible. It was the general introduction of low Mass. We who have been accustomed to it so long can hardly understand what a novelty it must have been, a novelty which the Oriental Christians still resist. It is not unjustifiable to picture to ourselves the elderly clergyman of the seventh century deploring the outlandish ways of the hot-headed young ritualists who had adopted a method of celebrating with no deacons, no choir, and no incense. It is only a conjecture, but it is a

reasonable conjecture, that the change was due to the missionary activity of the Church. On the confines of civilization it must have been no easy matter to gather a choir to sing the Creed or *Sanctus* in a language which was beginning to be hardly intelligible. An interesting proof of the old connection between the Eucharist and singing is found in some books of much later date which use the phrase *cantare Missam* even when the Mass is to be said and not sung.

The conversion of Northern Europe was followed by the birth of a feudalism which rendered any complete centralization impossible. Hence, from the tenth century onwards, we find national and provincial character, architecture, and ritual, develop and diverge. This development is shown in the mediæval English uses, of which the most famous was the use of Salisbury, or Sarum. It has been common, for party reasons, to minimize its Roman origin. As a matter of fact, it is the old Roman Eucharist, such as was used in France and England, with a few Gallican and several more recent modifications. Every great church, from the Lateran to York, had its peculiar use, and a layman in the nave of the church would only be likely to detect the different arrangement of the procession, some difference in the colours of the vestments, and possibly some variations in the offertory. The use of Sarum was compiled by St. Osmund, bishop of that see at the end of the eleventh century. It was not only so popular in England that copies

of the other English missals are inestimably rare, but it was accepted both in Ireland and Scotland. Some of the French uses, especially that of Rouen, which had been its model, were so similar as to be hardly distinguishable from it. Until the time of the French Revolution almost all the ritual peculiarities of the mediæval English Church were to be found in some of the churches of France. But the last hundred years, with their political changes and Pian diplomacy, have drawn the French Church so close to Rome that old national survivals are few and far between.

Among modern Roman Catholics one definite fragment of Sarum worship survives in the marriage service. This is even the case in Ireland. There the Roman Catholics celebrate marriage, not, strange to say, according to the complete Roman ceremonial, but with features of the *insignis Ecclesia* of Sarum. Students of liturgiology may be pardoned the desire that this "Saxon" practice may survive the inroads of Home Rule.¹

Friars as well as feudalism had an effect upon the services of the Church. The present Roman breviary, though it possesses many features in common with the older services, differs considerably from that Roman Prayer-book which had attained perfection in the time of Charles the Great, and had been adopted with enthusiasm in Northern Europe. The present book is that of the Franciscan

¹ The Irish Roman Ritual now omits the words, "With my body I thee worship."

friars, which in the thirteenth century took the place of the older offices. An idea of the old Roman offices may be gathered from a small sketch of Evensong in the eighth century. It will seem very familiar to every member of the English Church. The ruler of the choir intoned the words, "O God, make haste to help us" and the *Gloria*. Five psalms were then sung. A very short anthem was interposed between each two verses, but this was in time suppressed. After the psalms followed a short lesson, and then was recited a verse such as, "Let my prayer be set forth in Thy sight as the incense." Next was the *Magnificat*, with its own little anthems. After this, the words, "Lord, have mercy upon us" were sung in unison, and as the supreme intercession the Lord's Prayer was said aloud, but replaced on Sundays by the collect for the day. Then came a few prayers, such as, "O Lord, show Thy mercy upon us," and, "Let Thy priests be clothed with righteousness," a series indicated by St. Columban in the seventh century. There were no hymns at all. The Roman Church rather avoided them. If it did not exactly like "the Bible, and the Bible only," it liked the Bible with something very biblical annexed. But Northern Europe developed a taste for hymns, and so did the friars. Consequently the great changes made in the thirteenth century included a shortening of the lectionary and the introduction of hymns. The English Reformation included something like a return to the old Roman method. In the first

place, the lessons were lengthened. In the second, all hymns in our modern sense of the word were banished from the public services, with the single exception of the *Veni Creator*. Cranmer left some Latin hymns in his schemes for a reformed Latin worship; and even when these schemes were abandoned, Hooper told Bullinger that the London priests continued to sing the old hours and hymns, although in the English tongue. They were used to supplement the English Prayer-book, but were banished by the fact that it ignored them. All in vain, for if we are to make the religion of a nation we must make its hymns; and now Franciscan songs, like the *Dies irae* and the *Stabat mater*, are sung in English by our parish choirs from Truro to Newcastle.

This brief history of worship in the Middle Ages may be closed with two reflections. Firstly, with regard to mediæval simplicity. Just as it is a mistake to suppose that a period was always narrow-minded which tolerated alike the Thomist and the Scotist, the Nominalist and the Realist, so it is a mistake to suppose that this period was invariably given to a gorgeous worship. Some of the monastic orders, notably the Cistercians and the Charterhouse monks, used a studied simplicity. The fact is one of present-day importance. In the nineteenth century the clergy who regard an elaborate worship as too acutely appealing to the emotions of their congregation sometimes ride rough-shod over rubric and canon. Men like

St. Jerome and St. Bernard had the same strong preference for simplicity. But they did not conceive that they ought to obliterate the Church's past, or think that by despising the letter of the law they appropriated its spirit. And those who see in outward beauty no despicable means to whisper of another land, might well remember that reserve is sometimes the culture of expression.

Secondly, it is often thought that at the close of the Middle Ages, Jesus Christ was only remembered as the Child on Mary's knee, or as a threatening Judge. Most assuredly it was not so in Northern Europe. The smallest antiquarian knowledge would make this inconceivable. "*Passio Christi conforta me,*" was then the cry of the sons of men. Here a shield borne by angel hands, as in the University Church at Oxford,—here a banner, as that preserved in the library of St. John's College,—there a stained window, as in Cologne cathedral, give a witness which we know is true. It was the age that carved the scourge and the crown of thorns on the walls of the churches, that sang the Mass of the five wounds of Christ, that often thought of Mary as our Lady of Pity, sorrowing while she held the body of her Son on Calvary, the age that wrote the English "*Jesus Psalter,*" with its hallowed affection and repentance.

III.

I pass now to changes introduced in the sixteenth century. It is difficult to estimate how far the spirit of worship had decayed at the beginning of that epoch. The majority of English people attended Mass every day, and almost all heard Mass on Sunday. The more religious went to Mattins before breakfast, and to Evensong in the afternoon. We should gather from *Piers Plowman* that the Wycliffites, or Lollers (*i.e.* "slackers"), were guilty, or thought to be guilty, of neglecting all three services. But, in spite of the number of Masses, it is certain that communions were rarely made, and it was noted as remarkable that the devout Lady Margaret, the patroness of the English Renaissance, communicated as often as once a month. In Rome it was a popular opinion that the Church forbade more than one communion a year. Both the council of Trent and the English Reformers endeavoured to remedy this defect of rare communion, and the latter insisted upon the same minimum of communions, three a year, as had been directed in the fourteenth century by Archbishop Sudbury.

The revision of our services was the work of Archbishop Cranmer. After three centuries of experience, it is easy to criticize his mistakes: and it is still more easy to criticize his intentions; for there can be no doubt that, when he issued what is now called the First Prayer-book of Edward VI.,

he used phrases which the Church could and did interpret in a Catholic sense, while he kept a Protestant interpretation in the background, to be produced when occasion permitted. The fact remains that the book was a work of genius. The essence was extracted from a number of books, some of which had been very inaccessible to the laity ; and a large collection of beautiful liturgical prayers was printed in one convenient volume of gracious English. The book is strangely eclectic. The general substratum of the services, like the kalendar, is derived from the use of Sarum, Latin or English. But the Mattins and Evensong were strongly influenced by the revised Roman Breviary of Cardinal Quiñonez. Their popularity has been so great as to overshadow the more central act of Christian worship ; and many Englishmen who most vehemently protest against the errors of Rome are warmly addicted to these, the most Roman of our public services. The Second Prayer-book, issued in 1552, forbade the use of the ancient Eucharistic vestments, and made alterations in the text of the Mass which throw so harsh a light on Cranmer's original ambiguities that this service, by a clever misinterpretation of the once famous sarcasm of Lord Beaconsfield, has been called "the Mass in Masquerade." These alterations include a singular result of Cranmer's eclectic tastes. He made deliberate havoc with the order of parts of the service which had been consistently observed since the Anglo-Saxon period. It is

probable that Cranmer gained suggestions from some Lutheran formularies, and it has been thought that he used the Mozarabic Missal of Spain, an edition of which had been published in 1500 by Cardinal Ximenes. But while it is almost certain that he used the Mozarabic baptismal service, the similarity of the Eucharistic consecration is not convincing. This change from the old English order must not only have proved a puzzle to the laity, but also to the clergy; and, in spite of the wise restorations in ritual and wording which afterwards corrected the Second Prayer-book, the change has left the heirloom of an inconvenience. The mediæval printed missals contained very imperfect rubrical directions. The fact mattered little, for they were supplemented by traditional customs; and when the First Prayer-book was printed, we know that some effort was made by the clergy to combine the altered service with the old usages: whereat the wrath of the more Puritan reformers was great. But when the Second Prayer-book changed the order of some of the prayers, it was much more difficult to know where to stand, or to place the book or the chalice. And that is why the Anglican service is the most easy in the world to perform in a slovenly fashion, and one of the most difficult in the world to perform with reverent convenience.

We may now turn from England to Italy. Here a liturgical reform was also taking place. With the revival of religion that attended the council of

Trent, it was natural that the offices of the Church should be castigated and reprinted. After some tentative efforts, a rigidly conservative revision of the Roman Breviary appeared in 1568. The chief alterations were in the lessons drawn from the Scriptures. The success of this breviary was great, and it gradually replaced some of the local breviaries which had been privileged to remain in use. The missal was also corrected, and the Mass received that form of quiet dignity and practised movement to be witnessed still in the more old-fashioned of the large Continental churches. The same ritual was introduced into England by the Roman Catholic priests trained in the seminary at Douai;¹ the older English priests who refused to use the service in the English language, or who used both Latin and English like the celebrated Bernard Gilpin, having followed the mediæval rite. A better taste in music accompanied the ritual changes. At the beginning of the sixteenth century the music of the Church in Rome had been as light as her morals. The evil was so serious that, when reform began, there was some likelihood of all modern ecclesiastical music being forbidden. It was the musician Palestrina who rescued it for religion; and from that day Rome has remained a school of the best church music, though in the majority of the churches at Rome the music is

¹ The reformed Roman Missal was introduced into England in 1577; the Roman Ritual for occasional offices was introduced in 1615.

poor, and the voice of an English boy is the voice above all others which should cause us to echo the words of St. Gregory, "*Non Angli sed angeli.*"

Before leaving the subject of Italian worship of the Reformation period, the service of Benediction should be mentioned. Like the Three Hours service on Good Friday, which originated in South America, and has become as popular in the Church of England as in the Church of France, Benediction, which is the most popular evening service in churches of the Roman rite, did not originate in Rome. It was unknown in the Middle Ages, and appears to have been instituted about the middle of the sixteenth century by St. Charles Borromeo at Milan, where the Roman ritual has never prevailed. The idea of the service is simplicity itself; its adjuncts are often gorgeous. The blessed sacrament is placed in a monstrance of gold or silver above an altar, a metrical litany is usually sung, incense is offered, and then the priest, with veiled hands, lifts the monstrance over the people in token of the divine benediction. A hymn is sung, and the service ends. Benediction is most popular in countries like Belgium, where the services are least archaic; and it is to be regretted that this devotion, however touching and solemn, appears to have seriously weakened the popularity of Evensong. The people of Brussels and Cologne have entirely lost that affection for a stately Evensong which is so marked a feature of religious life in London and Oxford; like the immense old

Roman surplice, this affection has found its last home among the Anglicans.

Now for a few words on the Puritans. They struck at the root of the existing conception of worship, accomplishing not a reform, but a revolution. Two practical principles weighed as much both with the Presbyterian and Independent section of the Puritans. The first was that nothing was to be done in worship which could not claim the unquestioned authority of the New Testament. The second principle was that the pope is Antichrist, as he is stated to be in the Presbyterian Westminster Confession. Combine these principles, and we arrive at the Puritan result. For it followed that all worship sanctioned by Rome is blasphemy unless it is verbally patent in the words of Christ and the apostles. Kneeling in public worship, the recital of the creeds, the alternate repetition of the Psalms, were therefore protested against; and some of the foreign Puritans protested so far as to prefer that the Scriptures themselves should not be read during, but before, divine service. It is only fair to mention that, at least in parts of Scotland, the Presbyterians used a liturgy for a while, and attended a service quite as elaborate as that which excited fanatical opposition when it was enforced by the English Government and read by bishops. But to denounce as popish what chanced to be English was a policy which has brought a nemesis.

This nemesis has been thus described by the popular Presbyterian minister who has written

St. Andrews and Elsewhere. "It must be admitted that a Scottish congregation is helplessly in the hands of the officiating minister for its worship. The congregation's sole security lies in the good sense, good taste, and devout feeling of the minister. If he be a fool, he can make the entire service as foolish as himself." And it is a recognition of this fact, combined with a sense of the cruel mental tension in the minister, who can never enter his church without thinking after what manner he shall teach the people to pray, that is leading to a new growth of Christian worship. For now there are Presbyterian services at which the *Te Deum* and *Benedictus* are sung in the morning, and the *Magnificat* in the evening, and congregations that recite the Nicene Creed. This effort to charm back the ways of faith must be regarded with hopeful generosity by the lovers of that Episcopal Scottish Church, which is now no more what Sir Walter Scott called "the shadow of a shade," and need no longer plead its sacrifice of praise in dim and private chambers or moorland cottages. The result may not be guessed, and can be only known to the mind of the Eternal. Everywhere there is much to be undone. At first we think it matters little when, in the old Puritan tracts, we find the surplice called "a dangerous and scandalous ceremony," and the statement that it is ungodly to call the Friday before Easter Good Friday. And it matters comparatively little that after sermons the Puritans broke the jewelled stories

in our windows, and, under the eyes of their commanders, as at Chichester cathedral, hacked and defaced in "a bacchanalian fury." The windows can be repaired, and the figures of Jesus and Mary smile again above our porches. But it is a harder task to heal divisions, to calm the restless love of novelty, and inspire that chastening reverence which is the prerogative of those who are conscious that the Church is the vestibule of heaven, and are refined by the presence upon its altars. Yet we may be sure that the future of religion, and therefore the future of the world, rests with the men who worship best. And though a less controlling creed, or forms that lack the same perfection, may for a while seem potent in the struggle against indifference and sin, we may be confident that in all reactions against unbelief the Church will be the truest centre for the reviving energies of faith, and that the secret of the Lord will rest upon the tabernacle where worship has embraced all that the saints through varied ages have been able to impart of beauty and of truth.

THE END.

May 1896.

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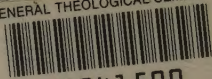
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